Workers of the World, Unite!

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NMU Delegates Debate "Outside Interference"

See Page 2

WALL ST. BEATS WAR DRUMS OVER STALIN'S NEW "BUREAU"

The Fight Inside the Auto Union

By the Editors

The CIO United Auto Workers is due to hold its next convention at Atlantic City on November 10.

This union, whose whole history has been so volcanic, is again torn by a factional battle, clearly reminiscent of the fight over Homer Martin in 1939.

The victory of one or another of the two contending factions is going to be of crucial importance for the development of the UAW and indeed for the future of the whole CIO. For the UAW is not only the biggest union in the country but, because of its dynamic character and strategic position, the most influential in the CIO.

As the two contending sides — the Reuther and the Thomas-Addes-Leonard factions—are lining up in battle array and bringing forward their most powerful weapons, it is becoming clear that far more is involved than merely a clique battle over posts and positions. Great and important things for labor are at stake in this fight.

Let us first briefly review the make-up and character of the two factions.

Reuther unquestionably won his presidency at the last convention because of his aggressive conduct of the General Motors strike of 1945-46. This won him the support of the majority of the genuine militants at that time, and their support gave him the presidency by a narrow margin. But as president of the union he has been far from militant and far from progressive. His 18 months in office have sufficed to reveal what he really represents and is:—a dyed-in-the-wool Social Democratic trade union bureaucrat, who aspires to respectability, to rub elbows with the powers-that-be, and to come to friendly round-table arrangements with employers.

Character of the Reuther Caucus

Moreover, Reuther has dictatorial ambitions which are a brutal insult to the UAW members who have built the union in struggle and established its glorious tradition of rank and file democracy. He aspires to solidify a personal machine so that he can tame the auto union, "discipline" its membership, and thus wipe out its cherished democratic methods.

The GM Department, of which Reuther was director since 1939 and which he runs with an iron hand, provides a good illustration of what the whole auto union would look like were he to win a monopoly of the union leadership and have his way.

The GM Department is unquestionably the worst bureaucratic division in the UAW. Everything there has been centralized into Reuther's own hands, so that no decision of any consequence can be made by the local shop committees and officers. All real authority rests in the hands of a few bureau-

(Continued on Page 2)

UAW Urged To Call for Labor Party

Briggs Local Submits Convention Resolution

DETROIT, Oct. 7 — The Executive Board of the large Briggs Local 212 here at a recent special meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to be submitted to the forthcoming CIO United Auto Workers convention next month pledging the UAW "to set the course for independent workers political action by pushing for the formation of a National Labor Party."

The resolution, if adopted by the UAW convention, would instruct the UAW officers to call a state conference in Michigan within 90 days after the convention "for the purpose of organizing a Labor Party in Michigan."

It would place the UAW on record "to assist in the formation of Labor Parties in all of the states.... with the aim of establishing a national Labor Party in order that we may run a labor leader such as Philip Murray or John L. Lewis for President of the United States."

The resolution characterizes as "total bankruptcy" the UAW's present policy "of backing so-called friends of labor of the Democratic and Republican Parties." This policy, it states, "has put labor at the mercies of a pack of anti-labor sharks in the legislative halls of the nation."

As proof that "it can be done," the resolution points to the achievements of the Oakland, California, labor movement in recently electing labor members to City Council and the recent primary victory of labor's candidates for City Commission in Dayton.

Made to Measure by NAM

Labor Candidates Show Strength in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Oct. 6—One independent labor candidate qualified for a place on the ballot as a councilmanic candidate in November's elections and two others missed out by narrow margins in last Tuesday's primary elections.

Al Young, of the AFL Teamsters, got on the ballot with the second-highest vote in a field of six in Ward 30. John DeVito, prominent CIO Auto Workers militant, lost out for the qualifying second-place in Ward 32 by only 91 votes, running third in a field of ten. William E. Komar, of the CIO Electrical Workers, ran a strong third in Ward 33.

Eight union men ran for city Council in the 33 councilmanic races. Four ran as independent labor candidates, but the content of their campaigns varied. Four designated themselves as Democratic or Independent Democratic in their campaigns, although party designations are omitted on the ballot. All four running as Democrats failed to qualify.

No union candidate received official Democratic Party endorsement or support. All eight had to organize and finance their campaigns without aid of any established party machine.

NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Cleveland's primaries were of national significance because they furnished instructive examples of a variety of labor election tactics and policies that will likely be repeated on a broad scale throughout the country.

To get a clear picture of what happened and why, it is necessary to explain first the effect of the mayoralty race on the independent labor candidates in the councilmanic campaigns.

At the start of the mayoralty campaign, it looked like a cut-and-dried affair, with a walkaway for the incumbent Democrat, Thomas A. Burke. Just as a gesture to keep the two-party system intact, the Republicans ran an insipid, dull businessman, Eliot Ness.

Burke was elected in 1945 with PAC-CIO support as a "friend of labor" and a "lesser evil" to a Republican. The day after his election he started to show his anti-labor colors. He served only the corporate interests. Recently, he has given underhanded support to the Taft-Hartley Act. Nevertheless, the conservative AFL leaders here endorsed his campaign this year.

But the CIO leaders, a coalition of steel union officials and Stalinists, couldn't shove the Burke pill down the throats of the CIO militants. They searched frantically for a "good" Democrat.

Councilman Edward L. Pucel, an insurgent Democrat, agreed to run. He is a Slovenian, and there are many Slovenians in Cleveland. Compared to the other councilmen, he has an excellent reputation among the workers. His candidacy gave the conservative CIO leaders a Democratic "face-saver" and the Stalinists had their "little Wallace."

TWO-FACED STRATEGY

Even so, the CIO leaders didn't want to give Pucel all-out support, for fear of breaking their ties with the official Democratic machine. The Stalinists wanted to back Pucel all the way. They settled their differences by evolving a "brilliant" two-faced strategy.

They passed a resolution to defeat Republican Ness "at all costs." They officially endorsed neither Democratic candidate, but gave the PAC Ward Clubs, local unions and members the "free choice" of vot-

(Continued on Page 5)

Kremlin Move Designed To Increase Pressure For Stalin-Truman Pact

By Joseph Hansen

The capitalist press, following the lead of the State Department, is trying to whip up war hysteria over the "Information Bureau" set up by the Kremlin in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. They picture it as a revival of the Communist International and a turn toward the revolutionary socialist program followed by Lenin and Trotsky. They say it is a provocative move, a "declaration of political war" that demands war-like retaliation.

This high-pressure propaganda campaign is designed to stampede public opinion into support of Wall Street's reactionary foreign policy as shaped in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

The truth is that Stalin has not made a turn toward revolution. He is only reviving the pro-capitalist People's Fronts of a decade ago, directing them this time against Truman and American imperialism instead of Hitler and German imperialism.

Stalin does not seek the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism anywhere.

He never led a revolution. His record is one of unbroken betrayal and defeat of working class revolutions as in China, Germany, Spain, etc.

Stalin destroyed the Bolshevik party, smashed the Comintern, engineered the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials, murdered Trotsky for the "crime" of advocating revolution, and is today a tyrant representing everything in the Soviet Union opposed to revolution. This counter-revolutionary despot does not seek revolution.

All Stalin wants is a deal with Wall Street. He seeks to continue the wartime partnership. In return for a non-aggression pact and dollar credits he offers the services of his agents to derail and wreck working class revolutions throughout the world.

Stalin's counter - revolutionary services in blocking the masses from putting Workers' and Farmers' Governments in power were accepted by Wall Street during the first wave of revolutionary upsurge at the close of World War II.

Wall Street rushed billions of dollars to Europe. These dollars acted like a blood transfusion to battered European reaction. The capitalists began to breathe more freely. Regimes servile to Wall Street flexed their muscles. A western bloc of capitalist powers directed against the USSR began to take shape. Wall Street then had no further use for the Kremlin's services and saw to it that its agents were ousted from their government posts in France, Italy, etc.

American imperialism used its beachheads in Europe and the Far East to tighten the pincers on the Soviet Union. Wall Street's blueprint of world conquest calls for destroying the nationalized economy and opening up the Soviet Union to exploitation by American capital. Wall Street has clearly indicated that it will not hesitate at atomic war to accomplish this aim. And the American imperialists, drunk with power, are not bluffing.

They are deliberately and coldbloodedly preparing for atomic war—as can easily be seen from their continued stock-piling of atomic bombs, experiments with robot planes and long-range rockets, war games under Arctic weather conditions and drive for military pacts.

Stalin's formation of an "Information Bureau" is only the frightened defensive reflex of a bankrupt bureaucrat against the menacing advance of Wall Street's war machine. As a means of blocking Wall Street's plans of world conquest, it is about as effective as a firecracker thrown in front of a tank. It is highly doubtful that it will even scare the imperialist butchers who were capable of dropping the atomic bomb as an "experiment."

Impressive Gains by Trotskyists in Ceylon

Impressive gains by the Trotskyists were chalked up in the recent elections in Ceylon, first held under the new Soulbury Constitution.

The Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India section of the Fourth International, elected five of the ten members it ran for Parliament, including the party's former secretary, Colvin R. de Silva. The Lanka Samasamaja Party (which split away from the BLPI) elected ten of its 20 candidates.

The United National Party, major capitalist organization, got 42 of the 95 seats in Parliament. The Communist Party elected only three out of 14 seats it contested. Other smaller parties got the remainder.

The Soulbury Constitution is the result of a dirty deal between the British imperialists and the UNP; it denies independence to Ceylon, giving it the status of a dominion, with control of foreign policy and the armed forces retained by British. The Trotskyists directed their main blows against this infamous constitution and its supporters and presented the revolutionary program for achieving immediate and genuine independence.

Even the election of three Stalinists was regarded as surprising in view of their insignificance and discredited reputation in Ceylon politics. They had concluded most reactionary alliances with the UNP during the election campaign, and agitated for a "united front" with the capitalists as the means of securing national independence.

In a letter to the BLPI, a copy of which was sent to the Lanka Samasamja Party, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International declared:

"We are elated at the news of the electoral victory of the BLPI and Samasamaja Party.

"It indicates to us the mass support for Trotskyism in Ceylon.

"On you the victory places a grave responsibility and it is our fervent hope that the two parties will work unitedly against the class enemy and that this unity in action will lead to the eventual fusion of all those who stand on the program of the Fourth International."

Hirohito Visit Is Barred By Union

Japan's Emperor Hirohito, sacred figure before the war, cancelled a visit to the Aomori Locomotive factory when the local union announced it opposed "unnecessary functions which involve working overtime and that it could not bear the responsibility for a possible accident."

Oct. 6, CIO News

Packing Local Votes To Open Fight for Living-Cost Bonus

SO. ST. PAUL, Oct. 7—CIO United Packinghouse Workers Local 4 enthusiastically voted "yes" at its regular membership meeting for a motion to reopen the wage clause in the UPWA Master Agreement and called on the UPWA Executive Board to take the necessary steps. The motion included the demand for a cost-of-living bonus in the form of an escalator clause.

The Local 4 paper, **Workers' Outlook**, says: "It isn't realistic to make a new wage demand with every new price rise. That would mean having to go on strike practically each week . . . However, with an escalator clause in our contract, every time prices rose, we automatically would receive a bonus to cover the new increase."

AFL AND CIO FACE CRUCIAL ISSUE IN TAFT ACT

By Art Preis

The AFL and CIO are holding their conventions at the same time. The AFL began its scheduled 14-day deliberations in San Francisco on Oct. 6. The CIO will convene in Boston starting Oct. 13.

These simultaneous conventions may be coincidence—but it is a coincidence that points up the identity of basic issues facing both union bodies. In the forefront of these issues is the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act, which is poised like an axe over the labor movement.

The issue boils down to this: Shall organized labor try to "live with" the Taft-Hartley Act, adapt itself to the Act and submit to its legal requirements; or shall the unions conduct a militant and uncompromising fight against the Act in whole and in part?

Most AFL leaders and a number of top CIO officials have already indicated their readiness to yield before the Taft-Hartley Act and comply with certain of its dictates.

They reveal what John L. Lewis termed their "weakness and cowardice" most immediately in their willingness to sign the "yellow-dog" anti-communist oaths as a condition for recognition by the NLRB.

Ultra-conservative AFL moguls like Tobin, Frey, Tracy, MacGowan and Green are even eager to comply with the "yellow-dog" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. They see a possible advantage in this over the CIO. Moreover, they view the struggle against the Act primarily as a long-drawn-out legal rearguard action in the courts by high-priced lawyers.

Certain CIO leaders show a similar readiness to "live with" the Slave Labor Law. Although the CIO has taken no official position as yet on whether to recommend compliance with the "yellow-dog" oath, there is a strong disposition among Murray and his lieutenants to bow to the law's dictates.

Emil Rieve, Textile Workers head, has put through a resolution in his executive board to sign the affidavits. Walter Reuther, president of the Auto Workers, has put out a "feeler" in the same direction through his lieutenant Emil Mazey. Rubber Workers President Buckmaster took a similar position at the URW convention.

But there is powerful opposition in both organizations to such a feeble and cowardly course. Lewis voiced it most strongly when he single-handedly blocked the AFL Executive Council from accepting NLRB General Counsel Denham's original ruling that all top officers of the AFL and CIO had to take "yellow-dog" oaths to qualify affiliated unions for NLRB recognition.

The NLRB members this week reversed Denham's ruling; but they did not free the AFL and CIO leaders of the duty to recommend rejection of compliance by their affiliated unions.

Lewis has pointed out that each act of compliance weakens the unions in a "war of attrition" whereby the labor movement would be cut to pieces bit by bit as the union leaders surrender one position after another. He proposed a militant fight against the entire Act and no submission to any of its parts.

His stand has been strengthened by growing evidence of the real dangers of the Act. Last week the first strike-breaking injunction under the Act was issued in Albany, N. Y. Employers are instituting heavy damage suits against unions. The NLRB itself is bringing court action against unions.

But how shall labor fight? This is the crux of the matter. Even Lewis who has taken the most militant stand of the top union leaders, offers no effective answer.

Most union leaders admit that the decisive blow against the Slave Labor Law must be dealt on the political field. Even the die-hard AFL bureaucracy concedes the need for political action. But their idea of political action, as well as the CIO leadership's, is continued support of "friends of labor" in Wall Street's Democratic and Republican camps.

They would "fight" the Taft-Hartley Act by turning again to the very parties that put over this law. True enough, they would seek out some new, "good" candidates of these parties. But this would only reinforce the illusion that something can be gained by labor if it sticks to the old two-party system. It is this illusion that has led labor into a political swamp and the quicksands of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The task of tasks before the AFL and CIO conventions is to lead labor out of this swamp by taking the road of genuine independent labor political action. This means a complete break with the capitalist two-party system. It means a policy of running independent labor candidates and using these independent labor campaigns to clear the way for a labor party.

Hunger for Workers, More for Profiteers

Last week Truman unfolded further his "solution" for spiraling food prices.

Point No. 1 is his high pressure campaign for "voluntary rationing" or "Eat Less."

Point No. 2 is a gesture against the grain speculators through the requirement for higher margins in buying up grain for speculative resale.

The main feature of Truman's "Eat Less" program is his appeal for the people to forego meat on Tuesdays, and poultry and eggs on Thursdays.

The great bulk of consumers have not only been observing meatless Tuesdays — many have been celebrating meatless Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. The same goes for eggs at near $1 a dozen.

Most people want prices reduced because they can't buy enough to eat now. Truman tells them to eat less than ever — to reduce prices, maybe. The workers go hungry either way.

Of course, those who have the money can buy enough meat on Monday to tide them over Tuesday. Or if they want to appear patriotic," they can settle for lobster thermidor on meatless day.

The administration has not halted speculation on the grain market. It has required the speculators to put down slightly larger margins, 13⅓% of the price.

This means that the small-fry gamblers will have a harder time buying into the grain market because they will have to put out more dough. But the big money boys will have less competition and stronger control than ever over the market. Their speculation will roll merrily on.

Meanwhile, the administration and Congressional "probes," instead of uncovering the profiteers, are shielding them from public attack. The "probers" are issuing reams of press statements denying that profiteers are boosting prices.

That sums up Truman's anti-inflation program. Hunger for the people; protection for the profiteers.

The workers will be kidding themselves if they place the slightest hope or confidence in the capitalist government to bring prices down or even halt the inflation short of a depression.

Labor's only immediate defense against rising prices is a struggle for higher wages, supplemented by adjustable cost-of-living bonuses.

The adjustable cost - of - living bonus, sliding or escalator wage scale, is designed to protect real wages regardless of price boosts. It provides automatic additional wage payments during the life of the union contract for all cost-of-living increases.

That is the demand the entire labor movement must raise today to protect the workers' living standards from further fearful slashes by the price-gouging profiteers.

NMU Upholds Union Democracy In "Outside Influence" Debate

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK, Oct. 8—After a heated and prolonged debate the delegates at the sixth convention of the CIO National Maritime Union this week rejected, by a vote of 372 to 314, a proposed constitutional amendment patterned after the much publicized "outside interference" clause adopted by the national CIO convention in 1946.

The disputed section of the proposed amendment read as follows: "No religious political or any other organization shall be officially permitted to interfere in the affairs of theNMU."

Faction lines were crossed as a section of the anti-Stalinist Rank & File caucus voted against the amendment aimed ostensibly at the Communist Party clique in the NMU. The debate revealed three main conflicting tendencies on a question of paramount importance: The question of trade union democracy.

This assertion may seem far-fetched to the many NMU delegates who for years have smarted under the whip of the Stalinist bureaucrats trying to convert their union into an auxiliary of the Communist Party to the detriment of the members' interests.

Throughout these years they have seen men smeared, slandered and framed for opposing the CP machine and its policies and for defending the members' interests. They have witnessed the nauseating spectacle of incompetent nincompoops being elevated to positions of leadership solely because they went along with the CP machine. They have watched their union being taken for a ride through every dizzy twist and corkscrew turn of the Stalinist "party line."

Under the circumstances it is understandable that they are inclined to give short shrift to the reactionary Stalinist gang which has misled and betrayed the NMU.

The antics of the Stalinists in the debate on the amendment were typical of this cynical gang. They beat their breasts, proclaimed themselves the stoutest defenders of union democracy and filled the hall with raucous cries of "redbaiter." Yet this same gang voted in favor of the 1946 CIO convention resolution "resenting and rejecting the interference of the Communist Party in the internal affairs of the CIO."

Moreover, high ranking members and fellow travellers of the CP collaborated in drawing up the CIO convention statement in which, according to their own action, they redbaited themselves. At the recent CIO United Electrical Workers convention, which they controlled, they shoved through a resolution threatening to purge the opposition for—guess what!—"outside interference" in the affairs of the union. And these yellow-streaked fakers try to pass themselves off as "reds" and defenders of union democracy.

There was no difference in the Curran caucus over the need to eliminate the poisonous Stalinist influence from the NMU. The division occurred over HOW it was to be done. Those in the caucus that voted against the amendment contended that the correct method of fighting Stalinism was to expose their reactionary role, discredit the hacks who serve as the instruments of CP policy in the union, destroy their influence and remove them from office by democratic means.

The real problem is not one of Communist Party "interference" but of conducting a vigorous struggle against Stalinist policy, program, methods and leadership. In the course of this struggle the membership can be educated so that the possibility of some other reactionary group taking control would be reduced to a minimum. Any attempted "shortcut" to resolve deep-going questions of program and policy by organization measures could easily boomerang against the genuine militants.

The leaders of the Curran group were seeking such a shortcut by their proposed amendment to the constitution They insisted they needed a "weapon" to be used against CP interference in the union. But the weapon they sought cut both ways. If used today against the CP it could be used tomorrow against any other group in the union. In the hands of an unscrupulous leadership it could be used to cut off the democratic rights of the membership and bureaucratize the union.

The present leaders of the Curran group may have the best of intentions. They have thus far conducted a relatively progressive fight against the reactionary Stalinist gang. But the road to hell is paved with good intentions. In view of past experience the members of the NMU should jealously guard their democratic rights. And not the least among these is the right of members to group together to present a common point of view.

Speaking in behalf of the amendment, vice-president Jack Lawrenson remarked that delegates who were members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party opposed the amendment, "because they had their own axe to grind." If he meant to imply that SWP members sought special advantages he was dead wrong. As a revolutionary working class party the SWP does have a "special axe to grind" however, and that is the uncompromising struggle for trade union democracy.

The struggle for internal union democracy is not confined to any one union but is as broad as the trade union movement. In one form or another this struggle is taking place in every union in the country. With the mounting international tension the American capitalist class is exerting enormous pressure on the trade union leadership to line up behind the foreign policy of Washington and Wall Street, to curb union militancy and "discipline" union members. In actual fact, this is the most dangerous source of 'outside interference" in the internal affairs of the unions.

The gigantic international conflict between the U.S. and Russia has its repercussions in the trade union movement. The Stalinists, as always, function as the American agency of the Soviet foreign office. Too often, the workers are only given the choice of one side or the other. There is, however, another choice. One that truly represents the interests of the workers; that of a socialist solution to the crisis of mankind through independent working class action on the economic and political field.

Given the opportunity for a free exchange of ideas and opinion, the workers will inevitably find the correct road to a solution of their problems. In a democratic union this exchange often takes the form of a faction struggle. The use of "factionalism" as a pretext for curbing the membership's democratic rights can well undermine the entire structure of union democracy.

Union Combats High Prices

Members of Local 400 of the CIO United Auto Workers take their wives to the union's cooperative store in Highland Park, Mich., to purchase weekly supplies of canned goods and produce at cost prices. The union's major problem is to keep up with the demand. No advertising is necessary. High prices are enough to keep housewives swarming to the store. Federated Pictures

THE FIGHT INSIDE THE AUTO UNION

(Continued from Page 1)

crats apponted by Reuther. Reuther has successfully constructed this autocratic edifice with the help of the General Motors Corporation. He has a "gentleman's understanding" with GM, and the latter deal only with him and his representatives and studiously ignore all other union officials, as well as the local and shop leaders.

All this "statesmanship" has dealt blow after blow to the morale of the GM workers. Despite the demonstrated fighting capacity of the GM workers their situation is inferior to that of either Ford or Chrysler. GM members work under the worst contract in the industry. Shop grievance procedure is woefully inadequate. Managements are continually harassing, intimidating and penalizing union members and officers. Working conditions are far inferior to the other major shops, and wages are below those of Chrysler and Ford.

The aims of Reuther are appraised by **Newsweek** (April 8, 1946) as follows:

"Reuther wants a strong union, capable of and willing to discipline its workers. He has established this policy in his own General Motors Department and won company approval. He plans to extend it to the entire auto and airplane industries."

This estimate, which coincides with prevailing opinion of the capitalist press, is correct and tallies with all the known facts.

"LABOR STATESMAN"

Reuther aspires to become a kind of glamorized edition of the late unlamented Sidney Hillman—that self-proclaimed "labor statesman" who would deliver insipid "progressive" talks before social uplift groups and then sign rotten agreements which permitted the bosses to speed up their workers; a phony "democrat" who ruled his own organization with an iron hand.

In the 18 months since he has been president, Reuther has consolidated a personal caucus on an outright reactionary basis. It boasts of being a "right wing" caucus, and rests on the most conservative and even reactionary layers of the union. Its chief campaign stock-in-trade is red-baiting. It attempts to evade the issues by yelling "commie" at its opponents in the same fashion as the employers attack the unions as "red."

The most influential single bloc in Reuther's caucus is the sinister priest-ridden Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which threatens the labor movement with a split along religious lines. The Detroit organ of this outfit, the **Wage Earner**, is the unofficial caucus paper of the Reuther camp.

It is unnecessary to describe in too great detail for readers of **The Militant** the positive labor program of the Reuther faction. Actually it can be summed up in a sentence: the Reuther faction follows slavishly the ineffective, week-kneed and cowardly program inside the UAW that CIO President Philip Murray espouses in the labor movement as a whole.

In contrast, the Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction has an over-all more progressive character, and numbers in its ranks—especially in Michigan—a far greater proportion of the militants of the union.

Unlike the Reuther faction, which is run as a "one man show," the Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction in its structure is a coalition of independent leaders, each of whom is surrounded by his own supporters and staffs. The internal setup of the Reuther faction is dictatorial. The affairs of the opponent caucus are conducted with a greater degree of democracy, and there exist far greater opportunities for the individual caucus members to express their viewpoints and fight for their opinions.

Against the truly virulent redbaiting atmosphere which permeates the Reuther caucus, the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group is tolerant of left-wingers and willing to cooperate with them.

What is of no less importance, the Stalinists are on the decline in the auto union. At one time they had exercised decisive influence in the old Addes caucus and in its predecessor, the "Unity Caucus" of the Homer Martin days. But today their influence has waned badly. Not only do they not control the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, they have no voice in its top councils and are not even a significant factor in its lower ranks.

The auto workers by a democratic judgment, have inflicted just punishment on the Stalinist scoundrels for their innumerable crimes against the working class. And they have done this without redbaiting or calling on the class enemy for help.

A number of the leading figures of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus can unquestionably be classified as narrow-minded union machine politicians. Furthermore, the basic program of this faction on wage policy, political action, etc., scarcely differs from that of Reuther or of Philip Murray. There should be no misunderstanding on this score.

But a confluence of circumstances has forced upon the Thomas-Addes-Leonard faction a more progressive role than Reuther's. These circumstances are the reactionary nature of Reuther's factional struggle, his attempt to displace his fellow-officers and install himself as undisputed one-man-leader of the auto union, his ideological bloc with right-wing elements of the labor movement (Dubinsky, John Green, Emil Rieve, etc.). Through sheer necessity and for its own protection, the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group is forced to assume the role of a progressive grouping, fighting for more militant methods and attitudes, and for the democratic rights of the union membership.

This is illustrated not only by its hostility to red-baiting and its more democratic attitude toward left-wingers, but by its recent militant stand against the Taft-Hartley Act in contrast to the Reutherite policy of signing the "yellow dog" affidavits and "living with the law."

PLANS DICTATORSHIP

A victory for Reuther at the coming Atlantic City convention would signify a victory for the most conservative forces in the auto union. It would be a step toward the bureaucratization of the magnificent UAW labor edifice with its broad democracy and rank-and-file participation in union affairs. It would be a victory for the redbaiters and witch-hunters, and a victory for the man who seeks to impose a dictatorial personal machine over the auto union.

On the other hand, victory for the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group would ensure a continuation of the present democratic setup of the UAW, maintain a variegated and collective leadership for the union, and provide a freer atmosphere for the advocacy of a progressive program and militant methods of work. A Thomas-Addes-Leonard victory would provide a far better groundwork for the free interplay of ideas in the UAW and the emergence of a new militant program that can truly meet the present problems of the auto workers.

That is why the great majority of the genuine militants in the UAW—confronted with a choice between these two groups fighing for control of the union—are working for the victory of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group at the coming Atlantic City convention. In our opinion they are right.

Priests' Control Over the ACTU Exposed by Detroit Labor Party

A timely expose of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists appears in the Sept. 25 issue of FDR, bi-monthly Detroit paper which reflects the views of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard forces in the CIO United Auto Workers.

Pointing out that thousands of Catholic workers feel that the ACTU is simply using religion as a cloak for its reactionary activities, the article warns:

"An organization such as the ACTU is a menace to the unity of the whole labor movement. By organizing one set of workers along religious lines, they invite retaliation from other groups of workers of different religions to do the same. Were this process to continue, all unions would face the danger of splitting a dozen different ways, along religious lines."

A photostatic copy of part of the Detroit ACTU constitution accompanies the article. This and further printed sections of the constitution clearly show the undemocratic nature of the ACTU and its control not by ACTU members but by appointed priests.

The following are sections of the Detroit ACTU constitution: Article V, Section A: "The officers shall be: a Chaplain appointed by the Archbishop; a president, vice-president, recording secretary, secretary-treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, and three trustees to be elected by majority vote of the membership at the convention."

Article V, Section G states: "It shall be the duty of the secretary-treasurer to . . . submit a financial report each month to the Chaplain . . . The Chaplain shall act in an advisory capacity and as a spiritual director of the association. He or any other priest designated by him shall be an ex-officio member of all committees."

Article VII states: "In the event of insoluble dispute over any question of policy, tactic, principle or leadership, the counsel of the Archbishop shall be the final determinant."

From a study of this constitution it is clear that all the clauses about election of officers, conventions, etc., are meaningless since in any disagreement between the members and the "Chaplains," the Archbishop (who appoints the "Chaplains") makes the final decision.

As the article points out: "The ACTU attempts to impose its own undemocratic, authoritarian thories upon the labor unions, and hides behind the cloak of religion in order to pressure labor leaders or members to follow its policies.

While it is obvious that the ACTU is controlled by men who never worked in industry or belonged to a union, its paper, **The Wage-Earner**, is foremost in the red-baiting campaign to drive "outside" influence out of the unions. That is truly the height of hypocrisy.

Can the Democratic Party Be Reformed Part 2

THE ROOSEVELT MYTH

By Art Preis

Whenever union leaders and liberals try to prove the "progressive" possibilities within the Democratic Party, they always wind up by pointing to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his "New Deal."

Time has long since dispelled the fictions about Roosevelt's predecessors...in Democratic "reform"—Cleveland, Bryan and Wilson. It is now generally recognized that they were loyal servants of capitalist interests.

But the Roosevelt myth persists and colors over the real character of the Democratic Party. The Democratic liberals and union leaders are working overtime to keep it alive. They puff up Roosevelt's few mild reforms and gloss over his major services to the capitalists.

He was a conscious agent of the capitalist class, despite all his verbal flings at the "economic royalists." His policies immeasurably strengthened and enriched the big financiers and monopolists. He yielded crumbs to labor only in the face of great struggles and in the spirit of political expediency.

Roosevelt's chief financial backers were a coalition of some of the richest capitalists in America, including oil, auto, textile, tobacco, food, motion picture, department store, brewery, meat packing, shipping, aircraft, farm equipment, and communications magnates.

In his book **America's 60 Families**, Ferdinand Lundberg lists among the big contributors to Roosevelt's 1936 election campaign representatives of General Motors, Chrysler, General Foods, Cities Service, American Tobacco, R. H. Macy, Premier-Pabst, International Telephone and Telegraph, International Harvester, Wilson & Co., etc.

The corporations depending directly on the mass consumers and which were hardest hit by the sharp decline in mass purchasing power during the Hoover depression put Roosevelt in office. His program was designed primarily to fit their needs.

It was to aid them that Roosevelt "primed the pump" with his meager relief measures and sought to encourage a small boost in the wages paid out in heavy industry. But in the so-called "light" industries—food, tobacco, textiles, steel fabricating, etc—wages remained low and resistance to union organization was longest and most brutal. Roosevelt was their man and he protected them.

What did Roosevelt do for the capitalists? He saved their system from utter collapse. He bolstered the private banks with government loans and strengthened the big banks through the Bank Moratorium. His National Industrial Recovery Act reinforced the big monopolies by legalizing price-fixing agreements, etc. He salvaged the land banks, real estate interests and insurance companies by financing payments on mortgages they held.

Incidentally, under pressure from an insurgent labor movement, he inserted a clause into the NRA—Section 7A, acknowledging the right of workers to collective bargaining. This gave the workers nothing they did not possess before—it merely re-emphasized a legal status that the employers had always violated and continued to violate.

The Supreme Court invalidated the NRA and Section 7A in May, 1935. The Wagner Act, incorporating the main feature of Section 7A, was passed July, 1935. But it remained a dead letter for two years until upheld by the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the workers themselves won union recognition by a series of historic strikes, with Roosevelt ranged openly or secretly on the side of the employers.

He was in office six years before a minimum wages and hour law was passed—common feature of labor legislation in other countries. This law fixed minimum wages at 25 cents an hour in 1938, increasing to 40 cents an hour by 1945. Millions of workers in agriculture, service trades, local industries and shops are exempted from the Act. Most workers have won higher than minimum wages by their own union struggles. Last year, of 40,350 firms inspected by the Labor Department, over half were found to be violating the Wages and Hour or Fair Labor Standards Act.

Roosevelt never solved the problem of unemployment and depression—short of war. In August, 1937, a government census revealed 8,500,000 to 11,000,000 unemployed. Three months later the Roosevelt "recession" unemployment shot up to 14,000,000.

Unemployed relief, won by mass demonstrations, was never more than a starvation handout to a minority of unemployed. At its peak in February, 1936, WPA employed less than 4 million—one-third of the jobless—at wages ranging from $19 a month in the South to $55 in some Northern cities.

By 1937, the "New Deal" was being supplanted by Roosevelt's basic "cure" for the ills of capitalism—imperialist war preparations. As the war budget swelled, WPA jobs were cut although unemployment rose.

In that same year, Roosevelt stopped shipments of arms to the Spanish Loyalists while the Franco fascists were supplied by Hitler and Mussolini. He signed the Tydings-Miller bill, which exempts from anti-trust prosecution manufacturers in inter-state commerce where states pass laws permitting price-fixing arrangements. Today, 45 states have such laws boosting prices.

In 1940, before the election, Roosevelt promised "again and again and again" that "no American boy will fight on foreign soil." But he consciously dragged the country into war.

During that war, Roosevelt and the Democratic Congress laid down the pre-conditions for the post-war anti-labor drive, inflation, all-out monopoly profiteering. The Smith-Connally anti-strike law, Roosevelt's demand for labor conscription, the wage-freeze, government strike-breaking paved the way for the crowning blow at labor—the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act.

By the end of the war, the 250 largest corporations—the economic royalists—controlled two-thirds of the productive plant in the United States.

What remains of all Roosevelt's vaunted achievements two years after his death? The Wagner Act is no more; the Fair Labor Standards Act has been gutted. Labor confronts a mortal crisis in the Taft-Hartley Act and ravaging inflation. And once again we hear the cry: The Democratic Party must be reformed! So soon?

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!
   - A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
   - Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
   - Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
   - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
   - Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
   - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!
   - No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
   - No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. Build an independent labor party!
5. Tax the rich, not the poor!
   - Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
   - No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!
6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!
   - End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.
   - Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
   - Against capitalist conscription!
   - Abolish the officer caste system!
   - Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
   - Trade Union wages for the armed forces!
   - Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
    - For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
    - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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How Stalin Wrecked Comintern Built by Lenin and Trotsky

Is the "Information Bureau" set up by the Kremlin a "revival of the Comintern" as claimed by the capitalist press?

The answer is no. The Communist International, organized by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919, died long ago. The "Information Bureau" does not bear the slightest resemblance to it.

The aim of the Communist International was the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of world socialism. It was first conceived by Lenin in 1914 when the powerful Social Democratic parties betrayed the program of revolutionary socialism laid down by Marx and Engels. These parties came out in support of the imperialist war and backed their "own" capitalist rulers in each land.

NEW PARTY NECESSARY

This betrayal of program showed that the Second International, to which these parties belonged, was no longer fit to serve the historic interests of the working class. It was necessary, maintained Lenin, Trotsky and their small heroic band of internationalists, to build a new international party to carry forward the program of world socialism.

With the victory of the November 1917 revolution in Russia they set out to forge this party. In March 1919 a Congress in Moscow of delegates from countries all over the world formed the new organization, choosing the name "Communist" to distinguish it from the dirtied "Socialist" Second International.

The "Comintern," as it became known, gained rapidly under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky. It was feared and hated by world reaction as the organized embodiment of the longing of the working class for a world of enduring peace and unlimited plenty.

But the Soviet workers became exhausted by cruel years of civil war and costly battle against the invading armies of the capitalist powers. This exhaustion payed the way for the growth of the reactionary bureaucracy headed by Stalin.

Following the death of Lenin, the struggle against the usurping bureaucracy was led by Trotsky. The political grouping he organized in the Soviet Union continued the program of Lenin, seeking to roll back the advancing reaction.

REACTION GROWS

A series of defeats of the working class in other countries, however, fostered the further growth of reaction in the Soviet Union, enabling Stalin to seize dictatorial powers.

Stalin tossed Lenin's program of world socialism overboard, advancing in its place, the reactionary idea of building "socialism in one country." This revision in program derailed the Comintern. From a revolutionary organization struggling against the capitalists in all lands, it became a foreign agency of the Kremlin manipulated by Stalin in accordance with passing requirements of Moscow's foreign policy.

For many years Trotsky and his followers sought to reform the Comintern, to bring it back to the program of Lenin. Hitler's success, however, showed that the Comintern had reached such an advanced stage of decay that it could no longer be reformed, for it permitted Hitler to advance without lifting a finger in militant struggle against him.

Trotsky then proclaimed the need to build a new international to carry on the program of revolutionary socialism. This Fourth International was organized in 1938 and is today growing throughout the world.

After Hitler's rise to power, the Comintern became a mere paper organization. Stalin organized People's Fronts which openly rejected socialism and brazenly supported "democratic" capitalism.

Actual control of the various Stalinist parties was shifted to Stalin's secret police, the dread GPU. Stalin liquidated the revolutionary cadres trained under Lenin and Trotsky, shooting them by the thousands. In 1940 he brought this counter-revolutionary butcher's task to a climax when one of his GPU agents succeeded in sinking a pickaxe in Trotsky's brain.

Finally in 1943, the Kremlin ordered the formal dissolution of the Comintern in return for lend-lease from the Allied capitalists. This was nothing but a diplomatic gesture since the GPU continued to control the Stalinist parties.

It made no difference in the policy of these parties. They were already pounding the drums for the Allied capitalists in World War II just as the Social Democratic parties had done in World War I.

The "Information Bureau" is thus clearly not a new revolutionary international party but simply a ghost of the corpse already buried by Stalin.

Resurrection of "People's Front" Is Not a Move Toward Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

Moscow's formation of an international "Information Bureau" does not mark a turn toward revolutionary policy by the Kremlin. In the war of nerves now being waged between Washington and Moscow it is simply a maneuver with limited aims.

It is a continuation and an extension of the intensive anti-Wall Street propaganda campaign which Moscow began as its counter-offensive after the failure last June to reach a deal with the Truman Administration over participation in the Marshall Plan. In essence it is a threat by Stalin to proceed from name-calling to "terrible" deeds if American imperialism pushes him too far.

STALIN

The report about the "Information Bureau" appeared in the Oct. 5 **Pravda.** This organ of the Kremlin announced the holding of a conference "at the end of September in Poland" of 18 delegates of Communist (Stalinist) Parties representing Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Italy and France.

This conference decided to set up an Information Bureau to organize "an exchange of experience between parties and . . . coordination of their activity."

The Information Bureau will be located at Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and will publish a periodical. Each offically participating Stalinist party will have two delegates on this body, to be "appointed and replaced by the respective Central Committees."

The capitalist press paints up this move by Stalin on the political chess board as "the resurrection of the Comintern." They interpret the manifesto issued by the conference as a "clear declaration of political war." In the opinion of Anne O'Hare McCormick, **N. Y. Times** columnist, Moscow is making a "defiant bid for all of Europe."

The Stalinists, however, disclaim that the Information Bureau is a revival of the Comintern.

The text of the manifesto released by the Information Bureau is proof enough that the purpose of this new body is NOT to organize socialist revolution.

The manifesto first of all reveals the not very startling fact that Anglo-American imperialism participated in World War II for imperialist reasons. It then reveals that today "America and England aim at the strengthening of imperialism and choking democracy." Another not very startling discovery.

The world today, continues the manifesto, is divided in "two camps —the camp of imperialism and anti-democratic forces, whose chief aim is an establishment of a world-wide American imperialists' hegemony and the crushing of democracy; and an anti-imperialistic democratic camp whose chief aim is the elimination of imperialism, the strengthening of democracy and the liquidation of the remnants of fascism."

At first glance this appears to be a more radical line than the one followed by the Stalinists during the war. Then the Stalinists labelled Britain and the U. S. as "peace-loving" powers. The Stalinists peddled the lie that the war was not imperialist. They were the most ardent advocates of the no-strike pledge. Where workers insisted on defending their hard-won rights, the Stalinists acted as strikebreakers. The Kremlin climaxed this collaboration with Wall Street by joining in organizing the United Nations and underwriting the imperialist lie that the UN would guarantee enduring peace.

The shift in line indicated by the manifesto is not in the direction of revolution. The new gospel has a familiar ring. It recalls the notorious "People's Fronts" which the Kremlin organized in 1935-1939, only now American imperialism is substituted for the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis.

The manifesto sets down the chief aims that the Stalinist parties are to advocate. It is a program of "national independence and sovereignty, independence and self determination." Not a single word about socialism or the working class struggle for power.

The Stalinist parties, the manifesto declares, should "coordinate their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialistic and democratic platform as well as gather around themselves all democratic and patriotic forces (read: capitalists) in their respective nations."

The **Daily Worker**, applying this to the United States, declares that the "nation urgently needs a strong anti-monopoly, anti-war coalition based on the Roosevelt-Wallace line." No revolutionary socialism there.

All the Kremlin wants is a non-aggression pact from Wall Street plus dollar credits. As the Daily Worker puts it, "The way to ease the tension . . is to revive the Roosevelt-Stalin plan for world co-operation and mutual aid."

Stalin was forced to take this course of "opposition" to American imperialism solely because of Wall Street's belligerence, because of Wall Street's refusal to make a deal.

The Soviet masses are profoundly dissatisfied with the dictatorial Kremlin regime whose disastrous foreign policy paved the way for the invasion by German imperialism. Stalin would like to appease that mood with goods from America and a non-aggression pact with Wall Street. In the absence of such trophies it becomes all the more necessary to divert the mass dissatisfaction from his own head by pointing to the new threat abroad and launching a militant-sounding political offensive against it.

Similarly in Europe, the Kremlin is worried over its slipping position among revolutionary-minded workers. Political opposition both to the right and left of Stalinism has recently grown significantly. What the Stalinists especially fear is being "outflanked" on the left by the increasing popularity of Trotskyist ideas among the European workers.

Hence the manifesto's denunciation of "Right-Wing Socialists" as "faithful toadies of the imperialists."

However, the demand for posts in the capitalist governments elbow to elbow with these same Social-Democratic "toadies of the imperialists," shows that the Stalinists have in mind something altogether different from revolution. Such posts increase the ability of the Stalinists to hold back the revolutionary workers, first by palming off the posts as "victories," and second by direct governmental measure. Moreover, cabinet posts would enhance Moscow's bargaining power with Wall Street.

The People's Fronts set up by Stalin in Hitler's time ended with a non-aggression pact. Stalin hopes to duplicate that feat with Wall Street, thus postponing the ultimate day of reckoning with the war machine of American imperialism.

Pioneer Pamphlet On End of Comintern Timely Reading Now

The Pioneer Publishers pamphlet, **The End of the Comintern**, makes especially timely reading now when the whole capitalist press is whipping up an agitation over the alleged "revival of the Comintern."

Published in 1943, shortly after the announced dissolution of the Stalinist international, this pamphlet contains two documents that throw real light on the Kremlin's diplomatic manipulations.

The first is the text of a speech delivered in New York by James P. Cannon, tracing the history of labor internationalism from the days of the First International and analyzing the degeneration and dissolution of the Comintern.

The second document in the pamphlet is a manifesto of the Fourth International exposing the reactionary reasons behind the 1943 dissolution and stressing the need for the workers to rally around the Fourth International in the struggle for world socialism.

This 36 page pamphlet, selling for only ten cents, may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Reich Survivors Honor Comrades

"Our Fight Goes On" says this banner carried by members of German organization known as "Victims of Fascism." In uniforms they wore in Nazi concentration camps, they place flowers before a memorial to their dead comrades.

WHAT LABOR IN BRITAIN EXPECTED; WHAT IT GOT

By John G. Wright

By voting the Labor Party into power the British workers expressed their desire for a drastic change. They wished to abolish capitalism. So did the crushing majority of the people. They wished to strike out along the path to socialism. They thought they could do it under the Laborite government. This is what they expected. What did they get instead? What have they really got in England—capitalism or socialism?

As I have previously shown, the British working class made highly important gains by ousting the Tory-capitalist politicians from office. But they didn't gain socialism by it. Those who say they did—like the capitalist press in this country—are only throwing sand in the workers' eyes. The mere ousting of a reactionary capitalist government is not enough. It takes a great deal more than this to guarantee the installation of a socialist program.

When Churchill and his gang were kicked out of the government, it did not at all guarantee automatically that capitalism would be replaced by socialist methods of production and distribution.

This can be assured only by reorganizing economic life from top to bottom. The many—who are poor—cannot benefit so long as economic life continues to operate for the profit of a few, who—because they own the basic means of production—devour the lion's share of the national income. That is why it is necessary to do away with private ownership of basic industry.

Economic life cannot be drastically reorganized without the participation of the many. They must control and manage the new system of economy. Workers' control of production, supplemented at the earliest possible moment with workers' management of production, is indispensable for planned production, which is the heart of the socialist system.

NO PLANNED PRODUCTION

But there is no planned production in Britain today. Nor has capitalist property been abolished there. On the contrary. Even while they are no longer formal owners, the British capitalists nevertheless remain in the management (and control) of such "nationalized" sectors of economy as the Bank of England and the coal mines. But the workers have no say whatever.

The handful of capitalist rulers continues to pocket as large a share of the national income as ever before. The many are meanwhile getting less and less. The economic power of the British capitalists thus remains intact, even though their political stranglehold on the country has been weakened.

Of course the Laborite leaders promised again and again to wrest economic power away from the capitalists. But they haven't done so.

Their 1945 electoral platform called not for the immediate introduction of socialist methods but only for a number of nationalizations, among them, the Bank of England, the coal mines, the railways, the public utilities and the steel industry. And this only by—1950! Even if they had carried out this program, it would still have been a far cry fom socialism.

Because, let me repeat, so long as one or more basic industry continues to be privately operated, it remains impossible to plan production as a whole. On the other hand, so long as one or more "nationalized" industry continues to be operated not for use but for profit; so long as there is no workers' control and management, the capitalists remain firmly in the saddle. They remain just as much owners of these "nationalized" industries as they had been before. They now own them in a different way, but that is all.

GUARANTEED PROFITS

For example, instead of owning the coal mines outright as they did before, the British capitalists today own them indirectly. They own government bonds which they received in "payment" for the mines. The interest on these bonds is the first charge against the income of the coal mines. Moreover, the capitalists are now guaranteed their profits. They collect these profits not as dividends but as interest on their bonds.

In the two years the Laborites have been in the government all they have nationalized are the coal mines, the Bank of England and some transportation facilities. The Tories are in favor of this, just as they favor the nationalization of the railway system. Why not? In this way they are able to unload at high prices run-down, antiquated and bankrupt industries (like the British coal mines and railways)—and still keep on collecting juicy profits otherwise impossible. They haven't lost but gained in the transaction.

All this has as little to do with socialism as did the "nationalizations" under Mussolini and Hitler of branches of industry which the capitalists were unable to run at a profit. In fact, "nationalizations" of this sort only increase the share of the national income which a few parasites suck out annually. It is for this reason that coal shares went up in the London stock market, just before the nationalization law went into effect. It is for this reason that British railway shares stay up.

As things stand, the only ones who benefited from the few Laborite "nationalizations" are the plutocrats and not the workers, not the people as a whole.

British economy continues to operate both in the privately-owned branches as well as government-owned coal mines and the Bank of England, in exactly the same way as when Churchill was in power. Both are being run for the profit of the rich.

In this fundamental respect the workers have gained exactly nothing. On the contrary, they have been losing ground. The decayed capitalist system is being operated allegedly in the name of labor and of socialism. This supplies the reactionaries in England and abroad with powerful weapons which they use to discredit the labor movement and the socialist goal.

At the same time, the masses are being asked to make further and further sacrifices to keep capitalism going. This likewise plays into the hands of reactionaries, who again try to pin the blame on labor and on socialism.

The Laborite leaders have betrayed their trust, and the mass of the workers is just beginning to awaken to this monstrous betrayal.

The Social Ties In the Factory

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the instinctive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars.

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

By J. R. Johnson

I have heard workers say that one of the things they hate most about losing their jobs is the loss of the friendships which they have made in the shop. In the same way workers will often stay at a tedious unpleasant job when others are available rather than leave their circle of shop friends.

During the war the social ties created by the workers in the shop were especially important in the pattern of their daily lives. The family ties of the workers had in many cases been broken up, or if still intact, were no longer satisfying. A few hours in the shop and those working next to one another usually knew the most intimate details about former strangers. The marital condition, the number of children, of brothers and sisters, where each worker lived, the other jobs he had had, and the places where each had worked—all these became common property.

Pictures were exchanged and handed around. As places were shifted on the line and as new workers came into the shop, this information was repeated until most workers in a department seemed like life-long acquaintances. Special occasions like birthdays and marriages, which had formerly been a cause for family celebrations, were now celebrated with co-workers. The needs of an individual worker because of illness or death in the family became the responsibility of all the others on a moment's notice.

The social life of the workers, particularly of the new workers in a new shop, centered about their connections in the shop. With all the monotony of toil and strain to which the workers had to look forward in going to work each day there was always the anticipation of greeting friends and sharing with them the new daily experiences. Some workers who had no families declared frankly that it was more fun to go to work in the morning than it was to go home at night.

SHARP CONTRAST

This was particularly true of the women workers. It was not only that boy friends and husbands were away. In sharp contrast to the stultifying, nerve-racking relations based upon the never-ending problems of petty domestic economy, were the relations which grew up in the shop, based upon the cooperative form of the labor process.

On V-J Day after the workers had collected their pay, they hung around in small groups, reluctant to disperse into the anonymity of their homes. Workers asked thoughtfully of each other: "Where do we go now?" In some cases they went up to the union office, hoping that they could maintain their contact through this medium. In many cases, at the union meetings called shortly after the layoffs, the workers turned out en masse, greeting each other like brothers and sisters at a family reunion. After the meeting, the same reluctance to disperse was evident.

One of the most dispiriting aspects of going to the unemployment insurance office and the U.S.E.S. was the lack of social ties with the others standing in line. Sometimes as they waited, the workers tried to recreate the camaraderie of the shop by detailing to each other their experience during the war. But only exceptionally could an intimacy be established. It was the same, to a lesser extent, with former fellow-workers whom one met again. The old experiences were soon exhausted in the telling and a new foundation for continued intimacy could only be based on joint activity.

PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

The community of the workers is based upon practical activity in common. It is difficult for the petty-bourgeois intellectual to understand this. His community is a community of talk and discussion. Where ideas about art, politics and literature are exchanged, there he feels at home.

The social ties which exist among workers in the shop on the basis of their joint activity are the backbone of Soviet organization. Lenin, writing a few months after the October Revolution, continually emphasized that "our aim is to ensure that every worker after having finished his eight hours 'lesson' in productive labor, shall perform state duties gratis: the transition to this is a particularly difficult one, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of socialism."

The workers, on the basis of their common experiences in the shop, were to move without a break to common political experiences, Lenin declared. They were to hold meetings about their conditions of labor in order to control these conditions of labor. And they were to apply the same principles which were worked out in these meetings to the organization of other aspects of their social existence.

Holding these meetings, Lenin said, "is the real democracy of the toilers, it is their way of unbending their backs, their awakening to new life, their first step along the road which they themselves have cleared of reptiles (the exploiters, the imperialists, the landlords and capitalists) and which they want to lay down themselves in their own way." The laws of the Soviet government were to be based upon the careful registration, study, systematization and testing of these experiences of the workers in practical administration.

NO CONTINUITY

In bourgeois society there is no continuity for the workers between their economic ties and their political lives. When a worker goes to the polls to vote, it is like standing in line at U.S.E.S. The man in front of him and the one in back of him he may never see again. After he has cast his vote, he again retires into the shadows of a separate existence.

The Soviet form of government gives to the workers for the first time the opportunity to carry over into their lives outside of the factory the social ties which they have created in the factory. Their meetings, their Soviets give a practical continuity to their existence. Their association in Soviets is based upon their association in the shop. The discipline and cooperation which they exercise in politics and controlling the state are based upon the "lessons" which they have learned in large-scale production. But for the compelling discipline of the exploiters is substituted the class conscious voluntary discipline of the workers.

Once the workers have thrown off the yoke of the capitalists and the bourgeois state, they will reveal to what a degree these lessons have already been learned in the school of capitalism itself. The need to make their social ties in the factory the basis of the new society is already clear from the tendency which workers have to center their lives around the social connections which they make in the factory.

Inside a Concentration Camp in Greece

On the desert island of Youra, Greek reaction has concentrated about 5,000 militant workers, victims of the recent wholesale arrests. A member of the Internationalist Communist Party, Greek Section of the Fourth International, imprisoned in the camp, gives the following description of conditions there, published in the Sept. 9 issue of the Trotskyist paper, Workers Struggle.—Ed. Note.

Up to the present no word has yet reached the workers' press about the terrible conditions prevailing in the Youra camp, this new Dachau of Greek reaction. How can one give an adequate picture of this place of martyrdom and death for so many thousands of worker militants? Youra is a little desert island, without a trace of foliage beaten by the winds in summer as well as winter.

Up to recently the only inhabitants of the island were two or three goat shepherds, and thousands of poisonous snakes, which have from the first day been an additional plague, added to all the others that the exiles have had to undergo.

There is no port. During the winter the small sailboats are unable to reach the coasts. In this desert, soldiers last July constructed four concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire, into which some 5,000 political exiles were later received.

Each camp is composed of a certain number of tents, encircled with three barbed wire barrages and guarded by gendarmes. The first exiles arrived at Youra on July 1 1947. The camp guards and gendarmes welcomed them with beatings, clubbing and similar brutalities.

The daily regime in the camp is not much better. For the slightest infraction of the military discipline prevailing there, those "guilty" are beaten and sent to a "disciplinary prison." The camp is directed by Papadimitropoulos and Glastras, both notorious for their administration of the extermination camp PAVLOS MELAS at Salonika during the occupation, under the direct orders of the German Gestapo.

The guards and gendarmes do not confine themselves merely to abusing and beating the newly arrived. They also systematically rob them, seizing every object of even the slightest value, such as clothes, watches, books, shaving sets, etc., and later resell these objects at the camp canteen, most often at black market prices. The food is abominable. All staples which become unfit for sale in the regular markets are sent to the camps. Every type of fat is completely lacking.

But perhaps the greatest torture undergone by the exiles is that of having to remain for hours under the broiling sun and amidst the sand, which the winds continually stir up. Another torture is that of the lack of water.

Near the sea the exiles dug up two or three wells filled with salty and muddy water. **That is all they can drink. There is not a single doctor for these 5,000 inmates of Youra! The guards and gendarmes continually goad them with talk like the following: "This is not Athens or Salonika. This is Youra and we have brought you here to rot."**

There is only one hospital attendant, himself an exile, who is harassed no end by the lack of any help whatsoever and any sort of medicines. The tubercular cases and those suffering from stomach ailments are rapidly wasting away and soon several among them will no longer be able to stand this horrible life.

We already have the first victim to report. He is the toucher, P. KOUKERIS, who, while sick, was terribly beaten by a gendarme until he died in his own tent, abandoned, without medicine and medical aid.

Youra is also a forced labor camp. The exiles work under the supervision of guards to expand the camp and to prepare their prison for the winter.

"We are hungry, we are thirsty, we are dying!" That is the cry of more than 5,000 militant workers thrown into the Youra hell, addressed to the workers of all countries.

Isolated on this deserted rock, famished, parched from thirst, with open wounds inflicted on their flesh by police brutality, living in filth, broken by hard labor, five thousand militant workers are doomed to a slow death!

Greek reaction is seeking to transform Youra into a vast cemetery. Our brother workers in the cities must work to stop our extermination: Demand that the inmates of Youra be released from this island of martyrdom! Demand the suppression of all these hellish concentration camps! Freedom for the exiles to return to their native villages and towns!

A Trotskyist Exile
Youra, September, 1947

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

"The unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes and the amazingly rapid growth of industrial unionism in the United States (the CIO) is the most indisputable expression of the instinctive striving of the American workers to raise themselves to the level of the tasks imposed on them by history."

—Leon Trotsky

Resist Slave Labor Law

Most of the top AFL and CIO leaders are urging the workers to abide by the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act "until the courts modify it or Congress repeals it. We have no other alternative," they claim. They misrepresent both facts and history.

There are other ways of challenging tyrannical laws. American history is rich in examples of direct resistance by the organized power of the people through which struggles to nullify such laws were won. The truth is that many of the rights possessed by workers which the Taft-Hartley Act now aims to destroy were originally won by defying the oppressive laws passed by reactionary rulers.

Back in 1765 militant colonists, known as the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, balked the enforcement of the Stamp Act by refusing to buy stamps, by mass demonstrations against British officials. Ten years later they defied the Tea Act by dumping British tea into Boston Harbor. Conservatives of that day were horrified. But our national independence was won by just such mass resistance to oppressive laws.

After the Revolution, in 1798, a new set of monied tyrants sought to deport radical aliens (called not "communists" but "democrats" in those days) and to restrict the free press by ramming the Alien & Sedition Acts through Congress. The people rose in wrath, defied these anti-democratic decrees and then threw out both these laws and their authors.

Early in the last century workers who united to fight for higher wages were hauled into court, fined and imprisoned on charges of "criminal conspiracy." Had these pioneers submitted to the employer-controlled law courts, they would never have won the right to organize.

Before the Civil War the slaveholders passed the Fugitive Slave Law, later upheld by the Supreme Court in its Dred Scott decision. But workers, farmers and Negroes openly disobeyed that slave-catchers' law and protected runaway slaves until the Second American Revolution abolished slavery.

Everyone remembers how impossible it was to enforce the hated prohibition law and how finally it had to be repealed under popular pressure.

These are the traditions of struggle that show how liberties are most effectively defended. Mass resistance—and not cowardly compliance—is the American way of meeting the Slave Labor Law and forcing its repeal.

Another Tax Steal Planned

Some people are never satisfied! You would think that with profits at undreamt-of heights America's 60 Families wouldn't kick too much about the taxes they pay. After all, these taxes go to a government which serves them and conspires with them to keep prices and profits high. But the fat boys aren't satisfied.

The latest plan of the millionaires is to lower their own income taxes and shift more of the tax burden onto the shoulders of the very people who are being squeezed dry by the current price gouge.

This plan has the pretty name of the "community property" bill and is being pushed in Congress. From the name someone might think it was a "socialistic" scheme but it is strictly capitalist.

The "community" as defined in the proposed amendment to the income tax law is only husband and wife. Under it a husband whose "earnings" put him in the $50,000 a year bracket could claim that half had been earned by his wife (whose only work might consist of putting on and taking off jewelry). Then they would both be in the $25,000 a year bracket where the tax is much lower.

It is estimated that if this "community property" scheme is passed the people most able to pay taxes will save 800 million dollars a year. This money will be found elsewhere, if the big shots have their way — in the pockets of the low income groups.

"But," someone may say, "won't this 'community property' racket also entitle a worker whose wife isn't working to cut down on his tax too?" Not quite. The tax experts of Wall Street have taken care of that angle too. Out of 47 million income tax payers in the U. S., 42 million would gain exactly nothing because their income was earned by them. These are the tremendous majority of the people whose income is $3,000 a year or less. Most of the other 5 million who make over $3,000 a year would save negligible amounts.

The big saving would be for those whose "net" income is $25,000 a year or more. That is, the only ones to benefit would be that tiny minority of capitalists who run the Democratic and Republican parties and exploit the people of this country.

Not only should this Wall Street tax steal be stopped but the American workers should carry the battle to the enemy camp. Demand that all incomes below $5,000 a year be exempt from income tax. Tax the rich and not the poor!

How About Opening the Books?

Congressional "investigations" of high prices are getting nowhere fast. A parade of witnesses have taken their turn basking in the flash bulbs and the press has dutifully quoted the questions, observations, denunciations and other publicity cooked up by Congressmen who are worried about the 1948 elections a lot more than they are about skyrocketing prices.

We can't say that we're surprised. In fact we'll admit that we expected it, confidently predicted it and would have been bowled over only if Congress had really probed into the current price squeeze.

At the moment we can't think of a bigger farce than these "hearings." The UN is louder and gets a "better press," as they say in the publicity racket. But in our opinion it lacks that touch of slapstick that goes with a corporation-minded Republican or Democrat putting on a Sherlock Holmes hat and sleuthing down the criminal responsible for the price squeeze.

Wasn't it the Republicans and Democrats who by special company request knifed all price controls? Or shouldn't we spoil the fun by asking questions like that?

There's a limit, however, to everything, including slapstick. That limit was passed for our money by the report of the "investigators" that no matter what the real cause of the price squeeze, one thing isn't at the bottom of it — namely, profits. Profits get a clean bill of health, they told the capitalist press. And the capitalist press, of course, rushed this preliminary deduction of the Congressional Sherlock Holmeses into print as "news."

We'd just like to put a few serious questions to these "investigators." How do you know profits aren't responsible? What did you do to find out? What evidence have you got to prove your chain-lightning deduction? Why are you so interested in giving the profit-gougers a clean bill of health?

And that reminds us, it's about time real evidence was produced. How about the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods putting the heat on these "investigators"? We suggest that these Congressional Hawkshaws be challenged. Open up the books, filing cases and vaults of the big corporations and let the public have a look at what really goes on.

For us, we're convinced that opening up the company books for a look-see would reveal some highly startling and even sensational facts about the connection between profits and prices.

That kind of genuine investigation would put a quick end to the farce of these "probes." And that would be all to the good.

A Question For CP Members

Here's a question we'd like any CP member who reads The Militant to answer. How do you size up the political record of the Socialist Workers Party during the war as contrasted with that of the Communist (Stalinist) Party?

This appears to us to be a timely question in view of some of the statements in the manifesto published by Stalin's new "Information Bureau" which CP members are now undoubtedly studying. That manifesto declares specifically that "The United States of America and with them England placed as their war aim . . . the elimination of competition on the world market (Germany and Japan) and the consolidation of their dominant position."

If you will remember back, that is what the Socialist Workers Party said during the war. As a result the Roosevelt Administration railroaded 18 leaders of the SWP to federal prison.

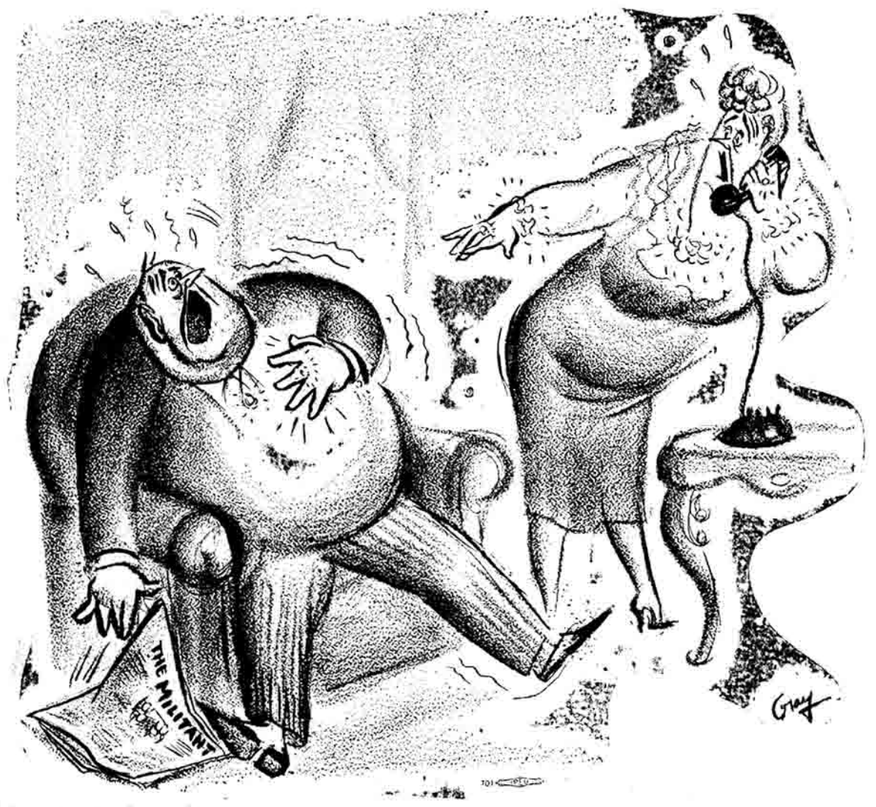
Your leaders took a different view during the war. They claimed it was not an imperialist conflict. They claimed that Washington was a "peace-loving" power. They demanded "sacrifices" by the workers. They advocated the no-strike pledge and did their utmost to rigidly enforce it. They even engaged in strikebreaking where workers, fed up with the corporations' way of applying the "equality of sacrifice" slogan, tried to bring wages in line with rising living costs.

You as a rank and filer had to swallow that line. Not only swallow but try to peddle it to workers who knew you were thereby acting as a stooge for Wall Street.

At the same time your leaders called the Trotskyists "fascists" and "tools of Hitler," and criticized the Roosevelt Administration for not giving longer prison terms to the SWP leaders who exposed the imperialist character of the war and advocated socialism.

What's your opinion now? How do you think the Trotskyists were able to correctly analyze the character of the war — not after it was over but while it was being waged? How do you explain the ability of the Socialist Workers Party to stick by its principles despite the lies, slander and persecution?

If you answer on the basis of the evidence, aren't you forced to conclude that the Trotskyists upheld and defended the program of Marxism? Then why don't you sever connections with the agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy?



"Quick, Doctor—the newsboy left The Militant instead of the Wall Street Journal!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

LAND OF PLENTY, A Summary of Possibilities, by Walter Dorwin Teague, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1947, 319 pp., $3.00.

(Continued from last week)

If you went by Chamber of Commerce propaganda, you might get the idea that every city in the United States is a perfect model of civic beauty, rational order and sparkling cleanliness.

Walter Dorwin Teague, well-known consultant in design for many of America's leading industries, takes a different view. He describes how the cities grew with the railroads: "Towns not on the railroad lines withered to hamlets, cities burgeoned at their intersections . . . Factories must be on railroads, workers must live in the shadow of factories or on the slag-heaps of mines, remote farms were lonely hermitages out of the stream of life. The result was an artificial congestion of people, industries, and trade in the ribbons and knots of an urban system grievously lacking in urbanity."

This engineer declares that "our towns are not only poorly planned, they are apt to be poorly built; they are structurally shoddy, forlorn and depressing . . . we find ourselves living in ill-fitting, outgrown shells that cramp our lives and frustrate our ambitions."

Teague thinks that our transportation system has now developed to such a degree, particularly since the use of automobiles and trucks became common, that we can now overhaul our cities, making them wondrous places in which to live. All that is necessary is to turn loose modern industry.

To decentralize the congested areas, bringing the grass, trees, ponds and streams of the countryside into the city and the comforts of the city into the countryside, will take a long time "but it will prove to be one of those fertile, self-rewarding labors that make us richer and happier as we spend ourselves on them."

Teague illustrates with New York "where the land is wasted appallingly on walk-up tenements, one-or-two-story shops, mysterious untenanted warehouses; and in the outlying boroughs there are great seas of tiny, crowded, single-family homes covering the ground to nobody's satisfaction, and other huge tracts waiting to be similarly despoiled."

If half New York's acreage were used for streets, commercial and industrial usage — an excessive allowance, he says, this would leave 17 families to be housed on each remaining acre. "In one cross-shaped tower of twenty stories, 170 families easily could be housed in complete privacy, with windows open to the sun and air — and more than nine acres of lawns, gardens and playgrounds for their enjoyment around them."

There is no reason for the fogs of dust and smoke that poison the air in America's cities. One simple device, the preciptron in all chimneys, he declares, "can make Pittsburgh and Chicago as bright and shining as Pasadena or Miami."

As for the factory, this industrial engineer is impatient to bring it up to date. "We now are ready to repair the ravages of the Industrial Revolution. Smoke, dirt, and disorder are no longer unavoidable by-products of industry: they are in fact symptoms of waste and inefficiency, and while they still persist like any bad habit they are not only remediable but intolerable. The scars burned by industry across the land, in and around thousands of communities can now be healed. Order and cleanliness can be restored, the blackened hulks of factories can be replaced by bright crystal palaces that enhance the welfare of their workers and are no blight on their neighborhoods."

Industry has now evolved to the point where it is more efficient to build mass-production plants away from urban congestion. This means better sites for workers' homes. "When factories are deliberately located in salubrious, not overcrowded areas, it will be possible for increasing numbers of workers to bring up their families in as pleasant and healthful surroundings as any peasant of a preindustrial age —but with all the advantage of an opulent civilization which those peasants never knew."

As the latest technical discoveries are embodied in transportation, it will become possible for workers to live at ever increasing distances from the job. Eventually a city man can live on a farm if he wishes and a farmer in the city.

Teague sees no reason why we can't go ahead and "build a better people." With our present technical knowledge we can provide such favorable conditions for children that the next generation could be relatively free of skeletal defects, nervous disorders, and so on.

School, Teague is convinced, can be made as interesting to children as the happiest play. "Children can be taught practical versions of algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, history, and art before they can read and write, and the arts of communication will come easily to these eager minds who have so much to learn and to transmit. . . . But to be successful it too requires that children and their homes be freed from the bitter, searing corrosion of poverty, in which few minds can ever know the joyous freedom of intellectual adventure."

All this sounds radical and even revolutionary, but Teague conservatively bases himself on what would be possible if we did no more than run our industrial machine at maximum capacity for the purpose of improving the standard of living. If you bring in atomic energy, "the prospects opening up before us make all our past performances look like the gropings of the blind."

"Well, what's stopping us?" a reader might ask Teague. "Why don't we get going?"

Anticipating this question, Teague was forced to venture into the field of politics, searching for the answer. Here his performance is truly like the gropings of the blind.

Back in the '20's, Herbert Hoover's views were fashionable among many technicians and engineers who had credulous confidence in the future of capitalism. Teague belongs to this old hat school. Thus he prefers the power trust to public utilities, mentions approvingly such proposed anti-labor legislation as the Case Bill, and obviously repeating Chamber of Commerce propaganda, declares Marxism to be a variety of fascism.

Private enterprise, says Teague, will open the road to this land of plenty, which he knows is possible right now.

Really, Mr. Teague, don't you read the papers? Doesn't it look to you like private enterprise intends to take us straight down the road to atomic war? And if that happens, don't you agree that America's cities will look more like Hiroshima and Nagasaki than the bright, stream-lined architectural wonder-places you visualize as a practical possibility?

Do you believe, when you're alone at your desk and not concerned about your prestige among the giant corporations on whom you depend for a living as a technician—do you really believe then that it's possible to make America a land of plenty without ending capitalism and establishing the planned economy of socialism?

—Joseph Hansen

Forrestal Lies About Cause of Modern War

By Arthur Burch

In addressing the Army Ordnance Association on Oct. 1, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal termed Vishinsky's charge that American Big Business is seeking war as "utter nonsense." Trying to refute Karl Marx's scientific appraisal of capitalism, the breeder of modern war, Forrestal said: "One of the many fallacies generated by Marx and Engels is the thesis that private ownership of property breeds war. . . . This theory as an interpertation of history, which it pretends to be, has no validity. . . . Men of the jungles threw rocks at each other long before there were either industrialists or business managers. . . . The only war we are waging is against hunger and desolation, against oppression and tyranny, against disease and despair wherever they exist." Forrestal's obvious conclusion is that wars are inevitable and preparations must proceed for World War III.

True enough, wars were waged centuries before capitalism and we fully agree that the capitalists cannot be held responsible for those wars. But that is no explanation of the causes of war either in the past or today. Let us briefly examine these causes.

From the beginning man has struggled ceaselessly against nature and fought hunger and scarcity. His progress has been marked by his gradual mastery over nature. "Men of the jungles threw rocks at each **other" to keep from starving when nature was not bountiful enough to provide for all.** But even in prehistoric days man learned to cooperate with his fellowman. He established a communal society where all in the tribe shared the meager fruits provided by nature, hunting and fishing.

The discovery of tools of production was a big step forward for humanity. With the introduction of agriculture man could produce more and provide for himself for longer periods of time. But it was still a far cry from plenty. Private ownership of the means of production replaced primitive communism. The owners of the tools became masters with nine-tenths of the population as their slaves. **This was the beginning of class society with its inevitable class warfare which continues to this day and must continue till classes are abolished.**

Simultaneously with class warfare there has been warfare between tribes, city states, duchies, kingdoms and nations as we know them today. The causes for the external conflicts were fundamentally the same as for the internal: scarcity and its offspring, exploitation. Through these wars feudalism replaced slavery and then the capitalist replaced the feudal lord. **Each exploiting class caused terrific bloodshed before it disappeared into the abyss of society. The Civil War precipitated by the Southern slaveowners in this country is a perfect example.**

In the same speech Forrestal stated: "In more recent history Napoleon led Europe through nearly a quarter century of unrest and war. But he certainly was not driven by the capitalistic society of France. He was a product of revolution." Forrestal pretends to forget that capitalism in France as in many other countries was ushered in through revolution. Feudalism resisted bitterly the then progressive capitalist class. Napoleon, as the representative of French capitalism, fought to destroy reactionary feudalism which barred man's progress then as capitalism does today. **In essence, the wars of that era were fought to make possible the rise of national states and the development of the productive forces.**

These productive forces were expanded in the advanced countries and gradually came under the control of monopolies which contended with each other as rivals for the world market. By 1914 capitalism had reached its zenith; it had succeeded in building a productive machine that was able to provide plenty for all for the first time in history. **The stage was then set for the introduction of socialism with its production for use. Man had come a long way in the field of production. Scarcity, the mother of exploitation, had been conquered by man's genius.**

But monopoly capitalism refused to give up its power over the means of production. To hold onto their profits, they have already thrown mankind into two bloody wars and continuous depressions. Unlike previous wars, these were not fought because of scarcity. They were fought over foreign markets and fields of investment. They were fought because the capitalists want to hang on to their profits and privileges at the expense of a rational reconstruction of society. For them profits are always placed above human welfare.

Forrestal's claim that Big Business is waging a war against hunger, desolation, depression, tyranny, disease and despair, is false to the core. By its wars for markets capitalism has brought these evils to millions. The unconscionable profits of the American billionaires are causing hunger even in this country. While Forrestal speaks, U. S. arms and money are being used to kill Indonesians, Indo-Chinese, Filipinos and other colonial peoples who dare to fight against oppression and tyranny.

Henry Wallace, who understands that the workers won't stand for another world war, became alarmed at Forrestal's statement that war is inevitable. He answered: "We have the intelligence, moral fibre, economic strength and political know-how to maintain peace." Wallace's assurance is worthless because he himself is a staunch defender of the capitalist system which breeds war. No defender of that system can lead an effective anti-war fight. Instead they lull the workers into a false sense of security while the more realistic Forrestals go ahead and prepare the war which is inevitable unless the workers do away with capitalism.

Why NAACP Membership Drive Lags

By J. Blake

When it appears that there is a very serious lag in the 1947 membership drive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as there is, it is time for analysis and constructive criticism.

The NAACP is the oldest, the largest, and the most authoritative organization in the field of struggle for equal rights for Negroes. Although it was founded in 1910 by the "talented tenth" and controlled by them almost completely, the organization has had the respect and support of the Negro masses because of its legal battles for the right to vote, and for civil rights generally—particularly in the South.

In 1946, along with the postwar upsurge in the labor movement, the NAACP underwent a tremendous growth which brought its membership to 535,000, with 1497 branches and youth units in 44 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii.

In that year the organization led the fight which cleared 24 of the 27 defendants in the alleged riot in Columbia, Tenn.; established the legal principle that state segregation laws do not apply to interstate passengers by winning the Irene Morgan vs. Commonwealth of Virginia case before the U. S. Supreme Court; started litigation against Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana to compel admission of Negroes to state universities; reduced court martial sentences against Negro servicemen totaling 2,100 years and had ten death sentences commuted and conducted numerous other legal actions of that type.

"MAKE IT A MILLION"

It was against this background of growth and achievements which had won national publicity that the NAACP ambitiously turned to the masses and set out to "Make It a Million!" in 1947.

It is too soon to pass final judgment on the success or failure of the drive since there are two and a half more months in which 1947 memberships may be secured. But it is already clear to anyone who has followed the activities of the organization that barring some unexpected developments the drive will fall far short of its goal.

Without citing complete statistics for the whole country, we can sample a few branches to see what is happening in the drive. The Los Angeles branch, which was verging on 15,000 members in 1946, opened its 1947 drive in May with a goal of 25,000 members in three months. In October the branch has not yet enrolled 10,000.

At the other end of the country, in Philadelphia the branch membership has dropped from 17,000 in 1946 to about 8,500 in September 1947, according to figures published in the **Philadelphia Tribune.** The Oakland, Calif., **Herald** of Sept. 19 reported that C. L. Dellums, president of the Alameda County branch, had said the NAACP office there may be forced to close because "this year's membership campaign was far short of its quota, and special gifts for maintenance of the local office . . . had thus far not been received."

It is true that new branches are being chartered each month, but these are very small branches and cannot "Make it a Million" without substantial growth in the major Negro population centers.

The Chicago branch of the NAACP last month announced that the goal of its annual fall membership drive this year will be 40,000 new members, its share of the national quota of one million. Unless the Chicago branch and other large branches take note of the fact that the drive is not going very well throughout the country, analyze the reasons and take steps to correct some of the conditions responsible for the lag in recruiting, it is a safe bet that the NAACP will not "Make it a Million" this year.

The next article in this series will attempt to analyze the reasons for the lag and the third will offer some constructive criticisms aimed at making the **NAACP** a more effective and attractive mass organization of struggle for the "advancement of colored people."

Workers' Forum

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant." Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

Truth, Love, Honor Bartered Over Radio

Editor:

The disintegration of society in capitalist America is reflected in our radio "entertainment." The so-called contests in which the contestants actually degrade themselves for cash and gadgets are especially nauseating.

The last one I listened to brought to my mind the statement Marx made in the Communist Manifesto about the German landowners, "They do not hesitate to barter truth, love and honor for traffic in beet root sugar, etc."

In this case truth, love and honor were bartered for an electric refrigerator.

The last round table radio discussion I heard lost its scholarly detachment and threatened to become a fist fight between one mildly left-wing speaker and the representative of the NAM. Could this, too, reflect the growing division between the left and the right in the U. S.?

When I returned from overseas I noticed that the Farm and Home Hour sponsored by the Department of Agriculture had been replaced with a so-called Farmers Program sponsored by a fertilizer company. This must have been a victory for Free Enterprise. Such topics as Farmers Co-ops, Conservation and Erosion control, and Rural Electrification are never mentioned any more.

Their fertilizer is not the only thing that smells. If the radio could convert the motive behind these radio programs into odor instead of sound there would be no market for new radios. At least, not as long as Free Enterprise was directing this "entertainment."

M. L.
Youngstown, Ohio

Recalls Tragic Death Of Sanders Family

Editor:

When I read William E. Bohannan's impassioned plea in behalf of James Hickman in his column in **The Militant** of Sept. 29, I sat back for a while and thought. I thought first of another and similar tragedy, one which took place not in Chicago but in New York's slum-ridden East Side.

It was about 12 years ago that a fire in an East Side tenement house burned to death five members of the Sanders family. This was not a Negro workers' family but a Jewish working-class family whose members were inspired by the thought of a new and better world, of human brotherhood, of Socialism.

I knew the Sanders. I grieved with thousands of others at their untimely death. Here was further evidence, if more was needed in those years of the "great depression," that decrepit capitalism, "a culture of money values," stood dripping with the blood of countless millions of innocent victims.

In my mind I saw a leech on the body of mankind, holding up the forward surge of humanity toward freedom and Socialism. The Sanders tragedy led me to rededicate myself to the struggle against the criminal system of capitalist exploitation, of social and economic degradation, of war and fascism.

I hope that the Negro people, and the white masses who suffer similar though not always such intense indignities and torment, will learn a comparable lesson from the Hickman case. Only a Socialist world, uniting peoples of all races and climes in a true brotherhood of man, will be able to prevent the criminal waste of human life and natural resources so characteristic of the rotten capitalist order.

The party which fights against the iniquities of capitalism and which points out the correct way to the American working class is the Socialist Workers Party. In the fight to save thousands of potential Sanders and Hickmans, to save them for the Socialist future of mankind, the Socialist Workers Party stands in the forefront of the struggle against American capitalism and imperialism.

Enshrined on the stainless banner of the Socialist Workers Party is the great slogan of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Debs and of countless working-class revolutionists the world over: "The main enemy is at home!"

In fighting against this main enemy—American capitalism—the Socialist Workers Party deserves the support and unswerving allegiance of the millions of American workers, Negro and white!

S. Taylor
Chicago, Ill.

Reading The Militant Helps School Lessons

Editor:

My son, aged 14, asked tonight: "What is the trouble in the Balkans, Dad?" The subject being part of his school work.

I replied, "If you had been reading **The Militant**, as I requested you to, you wouldn't have to ask."

"Well, I've got to give a recitation on the UN tomorrow," he said, "and I want to make it short and sweet."

"The friction between rival imperialists and the people of the Balkans to keep them out," I replied.

"That isn't what this pamphlet says!" he replied.

Similarly, my daughter, studying civics in Senior High had the subject, "Totalitarianism." The biased and perjured text books extol the virtues of democracy in the U. S. by pointing to the lack of a two-party system in Germany, Russia—as if we actually have a two-party system here.

H. C.
Cincinnati, Ohio

CONDITIONS

In the weekly envelopes
They place the worker's pay
After federal income tax
Takes much of it away.
The workers pay more taxes
On the things they buy
And profits to monopolies
Make costs of living high.

Millionaires have plenty
With the prices high
Workers eat the cow feed,
Work fast and slowly die.
The monopolies make profits,
Lock them in the banks.
Clergymen teach the workers
"Unto the Lord give thanks."

Government by monopolies
Make wars and slow starvation;
The workers slave and die for
Rich owners of the nation.
When workers get together
And establish Socialism
Peace and plenty shall remove
Wage slavery capitalism.

Jarvis Dusenbery
Rochester, N. Y.

Warehouse Workers Fight High Prices

Editor:

The Militant has told how the Detroit and Flint locals of the UAW have set up non-profit grocery stores, to save money for their members and help beat down the outrageous prices and profits.

Here in St. Louis my union, the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes of America, has started a non-profit store which is saving money for all union employes who wish to buy there. Despite the fact that it has been running for only a few days, some housewives have told me that certain grocers have brought down prices on several items.

This store is being operated because of the present price emergency. The retailers associations have stated that they are going to learn who the wholesalers are who are selling to this store and put pressure on them. However, our union leaders have prepared for this emergency and are selling stock in a contemplated cooperative store. The stock is selling more easily than they imagined it would. So, when and probably before the time comes, when we can no longer buy from local wholesalers, we will be in a position to buy from wholesale coops. There is a large well equipped one in Kansas City.

Instead of the retail interests cutting workers off from a proper quantity and quality of food, we are going to cut them off from their huge profits.

A Warehouse Worker
St. Louis, Mo.

Government Siphons Off Old Age Fund

Editor:

What are we subjected to, and what does labor have for a solution? I boiled up today thinking about the article I read in the **Reader's Digest** about five months ago.

As I sit in the engine room, I diagnose the reasons why as an honest worker I will never have enough money for economic security in my old age, but will have to depend on social security or an old age pension. This **Reader's Digest** of May 1947 reveals that the money collected as old age benefit tax has been diverted to other uses. Also the bulk of it cannot be accounted for. In other words, the tax still exists, but the money to back up the political promises of security in old age is gone.

Here is what I read in the **Reader's Digest:** The government has collected 9 billion dollars in taxes for old age pensions and survivors' insurance. It has paid out 1½ billions in pensions. It has borrowed and spent the other 7½ billions on other things.

Not only is it dishonest, it is poor administration besides to collect taxes under one guise and spend it for another purpose.

I suggest that commencing today all this money that is collected for old age pensions be earmarked for that purpose.

Joe
Youngstown, Ohio

NEWARK
FALL DANCE
Saturday Nite, Oct. 18
423 Springfield Avenue
FOOD ENTERTAINMENT

Fifteen Percent Mark Reached In Drive to Finance "Militant"

By Rose Karsner
National Campaign Director

The Militant Fund campaign was publicly launched last month with a goal of $16,000. This was based on the tentative quotas assigned to branches of the Socialist Workers Party plus an estimated sum for general contributions from members-at-large and readers of The Militant.

Since then, due to local conditions, some of the branches have asked for a reduction in their quotas. In accordance with these requests, the goal has been changed to $15,000.

We know in advance that we will make more than 100% of the total—just how much depends entirely on our readers.

If every reader will send a contribution, we will still attain the $16,000. Will you join in this endeavor?

A coin-card and collection list will be mailed to each subscriber within the next ten days. Please use it to solicit donations from your friends and shop-mates. Those who are not subscribers are urged to clip the coupon below. A few have already followed the example of our anonymous friend, "An ILGWU member in the Bronx," whose letter appeared in last week's issue. We hope many more will do so in the coming weeks.

FROM OUR READERS:

Dave C. of Detroit clipped the coupon and sent it in with $2.

S. Harrison of New York writes: "Here's my little contribution of $3 toward the Militant Fund. I'm positive you'll come out on top, for you're doing marvelous work for the true betterment of humanity everywhere. With sincere wishes I remain your sympathizer."

Pauline Dauber of Brooklyn says: "Enclosed find my small contribution. I wish I could make it a hundred fold. I am making this donation in honor of the third anniversary of the death of my son Marc who lost his life in the war 'to make the world safe for democracy.' What a mockery! I remain, yours for a just world, a bereaved mother."

Nathan B. of New York City, one of the best friends **The Militant** has, dropped in at the office the other day to remind us not to forget to give him several of the coincards. "I want to use them in the market (needle trades industry). They should have slots for dimes, quarters and one for 50c or a bill." We know Nathan will do his best to fill the cards. He never misses an opportunity to help.

FROM THE BRANCHES:

SAN DIEGO—L. Williams: "We hereby accept the quota assigned us, and will send a partial payment next week. We expect 100% easily."

SAN FRANCISCO—Anne Chester: "Enclosed find check which represents our first payment toward our quota. Bobbie Jay is the local fund director. She is doing an excellent job of getting pledges and donations from friends and sympathizers."

MILWAUKEE—Virginia B.: "I enclose a postal note to apply to our quota. With the aid of funds obtained from a party and the Militant Ball we fully expect to reach 100%."

TOLEDO—Milt: "Enclosed find check, our first payment to the Militant Fund. We have not yet started visiting our friends but will do so soon. We hope to oversubscribe our quota."

LOS ANGELES—Myra Tanner Weiss: "We have organized a Militant staff in our local, in line with the frequent requests for articles from the editors. Jean will serve as editor and will make assignments for coverage of news items. All comrades were asked to turn in their material not later than 2 P. M. on Saturday when copy editor Grace will check articles and assist those who would like criticisms and instructions.

"All members were asked to forward their suggestions and criticisms of **The Militant**, and—more particularly— any ideas about what they think should be covered for the paper. Those in shops and unions were asked to be sure to let the editor know of any incidents or events which should be reported."

Militant Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	$ 50	$ 48	96
Newark	500	224	45
Rochester	25	10	40
Youngstown	600	200	33
Buffalo	600	151	25
Philadelphia	300	68	23
New York	4,500	890	20
Milwaukee	200	38	19
Toledo	150	26	17
Akron	300	50	16
Twin Cities	1,000	145	14
Boston	275	31	11
Chicago	1,500	154	10
Flint	200	21	10
Los Angeles	1,500	150	10
San Francisco	1,250	95	8
Pittsburgh	150	10	7
Cleveland	250	11	4
Seattle	300	2	1
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Connecteut State	200	0	0
Detroit	600	0	0
Lynn	125	0	0
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Reading	100	0	0
San Diego	100	0	0
Tacoma	25	0	0
West Virginia	25	0	0
TOTAL THOUGH OCT. 6		**$2,321**	**15%**

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Going to Keep Plugging" Say Newark Subgetters

"Though you haven't heard from **Newark** in sometime, it doesn't mean we haven't been active in our subscription work." These are the words of Newark's Literature Agent, **Lou Waters.** He continues: "We started a sub campaign several weeks ago with the intention of getting many new subs. We set ourselves a fairly high goal based on the reports we have heard from Chicago and Los Angeles.

"We have been working in completely new neighborhoods and are sorry to report that the results we are getting don't come up to our expectations. That is, as far as subs are concerned. We have been meeting a friendly response and the people are eager to discuss the high cost of living and the need for political action. We are selling quite a few pamphlets; the 'Fight The Slave Labor Law' pamphlet is going well."

Comrade Waters assures us: "Though sub results so far haven't been so good, we are going to keep on plugging."

* * *

Alfred Lynn appraises **Los Angeles Local's** campaign for **Militant** subs: "We ended up with 303 new **Militant** readers. The last week of the campaign slowed down since the summer school was at hand. We scheduled the campaign for the months of July and August. It would be rather late to write anything on it now. But I can remark that the ease or difficulty of getting subs seems to be about the same as the national situation—slow in comparison to previous campaigns. Had the campaign been national, or even pressed locally to any degree we could have gotten many more subs, but we wanted a more or less leisurely campaign with no pressure and I think it worked out very well on the whole."

* * *

Rain is interfering with **Milwaukee's** sub campaign, according to **Carol Andrews, Militant** Manager. She writes: "For the last two Sundays our mobilizations have been called and both times we've been rained out. It just seemed to pick Sundays to rain. However, several comrades have volunteered to do renewal work during the week, and another mobilization is called for next Sunday."

* * *

The comrades in the **St. Louis Branch** mailed in 9 renewal subscriptions they secured during the week.

* * *

The **Boston Branch** is out after renewal subs too. **Rena Breshi,** Literature Agent, sent in 6 renewal-subs and says that "Most of the comrades participate in following up on expired subs to get renewals. The comrades are given the names of expired subs to follow-up, in or near the neighborhood where they live, and they attend to them at their leisure, generally on Sunday afternoon."

* * *

Beatrice Allen of **Detroit** reports as follows: "Two of the enclosed subs were gotten by a new comrade in his shop. Another is from Comrade **Chuck** who is a steady worker on getting subs and making friends for the party. Comrade **Allan** and I covered the Budd Local meeting Sunday with election platforms and **Militants.** Our comrades have done such a good job that most of the militants who show up for union meetings already have subs! But despite all their work, I was able to sell four **Militants.**"

* * *

H. C., a **Militant** booster in **Cincinnati, Ohio,** sent in two subs—one for a friend in Glendale, Ohio; the other for a friend in Silverton, Ohio.

* * *

J. W. C. of **Kewanee, Ill.,** sent in another sub. This makes a total of 13 this **Militant** booster has sent in.

Labor Candidates Show Strength in Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

ing for either Burke or Pucel. Thus they rode both horses to be sure of coming in a winner. All their public statements and literature backed BOTH Democratic candidates.

Having established on the public record their support of both candidates, the CIO leaders put terrific pressure on the local unions and the few PAC Ward Clubs to get out the vote for Pucel. A big vote for Pucel, they figured, would be a bargaining club for concessions from Burke after the primary. The strong Stalinist faction in the CIO led in this campaign, bureaucratically trampling over any opposition to lining up for Pucel.

Running as the "Peoples Candidate" backed by the CIO leaders, Stalinists and liberals, Pucel, although eliminated in the primary as expected, rolled up a strong vote of 35,389 against Burke's 72,411.

The vote for Pucel showed the desire of many workers and lower-middle class elements for a candidate divorced from the official Democratic machine. But Pucel still bore the Democratic label, and this prevented him from getting a much larger vote.

WORKERS SUSPICIOUS

Many workers here are suspicious of any candidate with that label, because they recall a similiar "grass roots Slovenian" candidate, Frank Lausche. He was elected mayor as an "Independent Democrat" in 1941. In office he acted as a tool of the official Democratic machine, became a reactionary Governor and is bitterly hated today by Cleveland Slovenian workers.

A genuinely independent labor candidate from labor's ranks would have inspired a great out-pouring of labor votes in the primary, would have beaten the Republican Ness and put the workers in position to oust Burke in November. Moreover, the subordination of the independent labor councilmanic campaigns to the Pucel campaign was harmful to the cause of the independent labor candidates.

This was particularly true in the outstanding campaign in the city, in Ward 32 for John DeVito, Chief Steward of Cleveland's largest Union, GM Fisher Body Local 45, CIO United Auto Workers.

DeVito's campaign attracted the most attention and was notable for its widespread volunteer worker participation in a working class neighborhood. He is an outstanding militant, a veteran of the sit-downs and pioneer struggles of the CIO. Although in the past he had opposed union participation in politics, the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act convinced him of the need for an all-out political fight by labor.

The major bases of his campaign were Fisher Body Local 45 and the Ward 32 Labor Joint Committee for Political Action. This Ward 32 Club was formed last fall and ran an independent labor candidate for U. S. Congress, Matt DeMore, of the International Association of Machinists. Due to the Club's activities, DeMore's highest vote was in Ward 32. This campaign was the foundation of the Club.

Tony Pirc, UAW Local 337 President, heads the club. Its active members are chief stewards and officers of CIO, AFL, IAM and Railroad Brotherhood locals. Ward 32 is overwhelmingly working class, a majority of Slovenians and a large group of Italians. It is known as the Collinwood section, the most heavily industrialized in Cleveland.

The Ward 32 Club's policy was to run DeVito, an Italian, as an independent labor candidate appealing to all workers regardless of nationality. With the best ward and precinct organization in the city, its members organized an excellent drive in the first weeks of the campaign. The other candidates admitted this was the most energetic campaign in the Ward's history.

Had the Ward 32 Club with its clear policy of independent labor political action continued as the hub of DeVito's campaign, he would have been a sure winner. But the Stalinists, through their influence in UAW Local 45, switched his campaign off its independent labor rails and sidetracked it onto Democrat Pucel's mayoralty campaign.

The Stalinists showed no enthusiasm for DeVita's independent campaign. They threw their efforts into it only in the last days in order to use his campaign as a vehicle to secure votes for Purcel.

DeVito's campaign was shifted from its solid Ward 32 Club base to the Local 45 office and buried under the Pucel drive. The election eve headline of the Local 45 newspaper, **Fisher Eye-Opener,** read: "Boost Pucel and DeVito Tommorow."

Despite Stalinist eleventh hour sabotage, DeVito came within 91 votes of victory. This has proved to Collinwood workers that a union man CAN be elected, a fact absolutely confirmed by Al Young's victory in Ward 30.

Young's campaign was run by a joint AFL and CIO Ward Club. Although dominated by Stalinists, this club has a number of progressive AFL men who acted as a check-rein on the Stalinists and kept Young's campaign on an independent labor basis. This was the big factor in his primary victory, when he qualified with 3,197 votes to run a close second to the Democratic incumbent Atkinson.

At the Ward 32 Club meeting and discussion after the primary the members showed they understood that only Stalinist sabotage prevented a DeVito victory. They are confident that their strong campaign proves that their policies and methods are the answers to the workers' political needs and that they have established themselves as an all-year round workers political organization in the ward.

Buffalo Labor School Opening Fall Sessions

BUFFALO, Oct. 8—Two important series of courses for workers will be given in the fall sessions of the Militant Labor School of Buffalo, beginning next week.

The first, a course of ten discussions on How the Capitalist System Operates, will be held on Wednesday nights from 8 to 9:30, beginning Oct. 15.

The second, The Development of American Labor, also in ten sessions, will be held Friday nights at the same hour, beginning Oct. 17.

Single sessions in both courses will be 25 cents; $2 for each complete course.

The classes will be held at 629 Main St., Buffalo 3, phone MA 3960, and registrations for the fall classes are being accepted now.

BOSTON RADIO
Listen to
LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR
School Committee Candidate
Station WHDH
Monday Evenings, 8:45 P. M. Oct. 13, 20, 27

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO—**Militant** Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MAdison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND — **Militant** Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St., (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—**Militant** publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO—**Militant** publishing Assn.,—1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—**Militant** Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St. Open 12 to 4:30 p.m.; 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Mondays thru Fridays.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday, Phone Main 7781 Library, bookstore.
Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—**Labor School,** 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.

NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIgelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday. Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Phone Court 6060
Open meetings every 1st and third Sundays at 3:30 p.m.
Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15. Open noon to 4:30 p.m. except Sunday. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat.
Phone SE 0453 Library, bookstore.
Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums, Fridays, 7:30—10 p. m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — 113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.

YOUNGSTOWN — 115 E. Federal Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, O. Open 11-4:30 Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

Won't You Help The Militant?

CLIP COUPON—MAIL TO-DAY

The Militant Fund
116 University Pl.
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find $— ..... to help THE MILITANT in its fight for a world of peace and plenty for all.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone .....

State .....

N.Y. Marxist School Opens

NEW YORK, Oct. 9 — The Marxist Labor School began its fall sessions last Monday with two well attended and enthusiastically received classes, which will continue every Monday throughout October at 116 University Pl.

The first class, "The Irrepressible Conflict: Then and Now," reviews the class struggles in the mid-nineteenth century culminating in the American Civil War. William Warde explained that just as the conflict at that time was irrepressible because of the existence of two opposite social systems, capitalism and slavery, that could no longer live side by side, so today the forces of capital and labor are tending toward another final and irrepressible conflict, which will persist until one or the other is victorious.

Unlike bourgeois historians of the American Revolution who view it as an isolated phenomenon unconnected with European events, Warde stressed the importance of viewing the American Revolution as one of the most important links in the chain of conflicts issuing out of the world crisis of 1857. In the same way today, the participants in the coming American Revolution can function effectively only as an integral part of the international revolutionary scene.

The second class, "Modern Science and Marxism," deals with the dilemma of modern science today. The instructor, Buddy Lens, explained how the foundations of every branch of science are being challenged because of the clash between the progressive methods of science and research and the outmoded method of formal thinking still employed by the scientists. At next week's class he will further discuss dialectical materialism and the nature of scientific truth. A major portion of the time in this class will be devoted to discussion by the students on all phases of this subject.

Those who were unable to attend the first session or cannot enroll for the entire course are invited to attend single lectures. Warde's class starts promptly at 7:30 P.M., Lens' class at 9:00.

New York Marxist Labor School

Mondays, Oct. 13, 20, 27

7:30 p. m.—THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT THEN AND NOW: A Marxist review of the class struggles in the mid-nineteenth century culminating in the American Civil War. . . .

Instructor: William F. Warde

9:00 p. m.—MODERN SCIENCE AND MARXISM: The chises in modern science. Biological evolution and the trends in modern human society . . . Dialectical Materialism, the young science of the sciences, its vast scope and limitations .

Instructor: B. Lens.

Open discussion to follow each lecture

116 University Place

$1.00 *for series, 30 cents per session.*
Free admission to unemployed workers

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX — NEW YORK, N. Y. — MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 194

Diary of a Steel Worker

The Experiment

By Theodore Kovalesky

There was a very famous experiment that was never completed. I'm sure you've all heard about it, but the time has come to talk of it again.

There was once a farmer, a thrifty man with a scientific turn of mind. Always as he went about his chores he pondered and wondered how to cut down on expenses. He searched his mind for ways and means of economizing. He thought of this and that but rejected each idea for one reason or another. Finally he thought of Clarence.

Clarence was his horse, a faithful beast and a friend to man, who toiled day after day, rain or shine. He was a patient animal, patient and tireless, and he asked little of life, only a bag of oats now and then at decent intervals. It was his only simple pleasure.

But that was just it! Oats! They cost money. The farmer's eyes gleamed with his brainstorm. He had read, perhaps, of experiments performed enabling people to become immune to certain poisons by taking a little at a time until their systems built up a resistance to them. Or maybe he just followed the old adage that you can get used to anything, even hanging . . . although the latter isn't generally taken up by anybody as a hobby.

So the next day he short-changed Clarence on his oats. Clarence didn't say anything, so the farmer figured it was all right. The following day he gave Clarence a little less. As the time went on, Clarence became a little uncooperative. He didn't pull the plough so well. He didn't work so hard. But horses aren't very bright: they don't understand the value of scientific experimentation. No doubt it was Clarence's reactionary attitude toward science that made him uncooperative.

The farmer was a stern and righteous man. No horse could thwart him when he made up his mind. The experiment went on.

Finally the glorious conclusion was in sight. After careful conditioning Clarence had reached the stage where he would need no oats at all. A new era, a revolution in farming was at hand. No more would farmers have to feed their horses. Clarence would be immortalized as the savior of the American farmer.

So now Clarence didn't eat. He worked, but he didn't eat. But then, when the experiment was rolling on so nicely, tragedy struck. Clarence went and died.

* *

We sat in the shanty, Jimmy, Slim, Pete, the Old Man, and I, talking about Truman and Taft and their solution to our woes.

"You're gonna be just like that horse, Old Man," Jimmy said.

"Ain't never been no different from that horse all my life," the Old Man replied. "Always been working, not eating much. Ain't no different from that horse."

"Man works like a horse all right on these furnaces," Slim muttered. "No wonder that damn horse died. I'll die myself, working up here in this heat if I don't get good food to eat."

Then Pete took the words right out of my mouth. "It's OK for Taft and Truman and all the rest of the big shots to talk like that; they don't do any work to make them hungry. And besides, when they say, 'Eat less,' they're talking about us, they're not talking about themselves."

We do eat less, I thought to myself, and the time is coming when we'll eat less still. In a country rich in grainfields and pastureland, heavy with orchards and vineyards we'll eat less and less.

But we won't be like Clarence. With us the experiment will end quite differently. We won't die. When our rations grow thin enough we'll awaken, the whole working class will awaken, and we'll TAKE what rightfully belongs to us. And if anyone has to die, well, we won't be the ones!

The Negro Struggle

Destruction or Emancipation

By Albert Parker

As I was saying in last week's column, it is false and misleading to think that day by day things are getting better and better for the Negroes and that as a result of gradual improvements we will wake up some morning and find that Negroes have won equality. I tried to show in that column that the coming depression may provoke a social crisis and the growth of fascism which may wipe out all the hard-won gains of many decades. Here I would like to resume that discussion.

The idea of the gradual improvement of conditions under capitalism is not a new one; and its history is very educational. Take, for example, the history of another oppressed minority — the Jews in Germany. Although they were victims of discrimination and segregation, they felt for many years that they were making progress; as time went on, they won some concessions and appeared to be well on the way toward complete assimilation in German life and culture.

But when Germany was wracked by an economic crisis after the first world war, it was comparatively easy for the fascists to make scapegoats of the Jews and, after Hitler came to power, to deprive them of their citizenship, their democratic rights, their jobs, their property and finally their lives.

It would be good for Negro militants to study and think about the example of the Jews in Germany. There is a great need for realism and a clear-headed understanding of the difficulties that lie ahead; without such an understanding, victory in the fight against Jim Crow will be postponed.

It is necessary once and for all time to dispel and destroy the light-headed, rosy-tinted notions being spread about the "inevitability" of progress under capitalism. The example of the Jews in Germany and the possibility of American fascism arising during the next depression — these indicate the great danger not only that the Negroes may be set back economically, politically and socially, but even that they may be wiped out physically.

In the final analysis, the relationship between the capitalist system and the Negro people boils down to this: Fight or die! Either the Negro people will band together with the revolutionary white workers and abolish this abominable Jim Crow system, or this system will have the time during a great social crisis to recruit and train the fascist thugs who will try to destroy the Negro people as they destroyed the Jews in Europe.

I personally know many Negroes who try to shut their eyes to these dangers. They say we are "laying it on too thick" when we even discuss them as possibilities. They feel distressed at the idea that capitalism may snatch back even the few concessions already won — so distressed that they try to dismiss the dangers by relying on statistics: "See, we had so many schools in 1880 and now we have that many more; we had this many college students in 1900 and now we have that many, etc." Neither statistics nor wishful thinking saved the Jews; and they will not save the Negroes either.

Please do not misunderstand what I am driving at. Far from viewing the situation as hopeless, we Trotskyists face the future with confidence and optimism because we appreciate the strength of the masses and see events driving both the white workers and Negro people to a revolutionary solution of their problems. What we emphasize is this: Such a solution is possible only if we put an end to all illusions about the "benefits" of the decaying capitalist system and understand that the real choice for Negroes is between destruction at the hands of fascist barbarism and the second emancipation through socialist revolution.

Two Generals Whitewash Another

By George Lavan

The motto of the brass hats is: "If you are appointed to investigate charges against another officer, always bring in a whitewash because someday you may be investigated and he can whitewash you."

This was brought out very clearly in the recent investigation of the regime of Lt. General Lee, commander of the Army's Mediterranean Theater.

The misrule and mistreatment of enlisted men in Lee's command had long been known throughout the Army. Robert Ruark, Scripps-Howard correspondent, wrote it up and for their own reasons his publishers printed it.

Ruark revealed the wanton luxury in which the officer caste was living. Lee set the pace in his little kingdom. He had more personal cars than he could keep track of. Streets that his car went down often were put off limits to all other traffic. His expensive special railroad cars and trailers were fitted as for an Indian maharajah. All the work was done of course by enlisted men, who were thus "serving their country," as the recruiting posters put it.

Enlisted men assigned to driving cars for officers were treated as servants. They had to work overtime driving officers and officers' wives to pleasure resorts. Drivers had to perform other duties such as nursemaid.

While the officers lived in spacious villas and suites, the enlisted men were crowded into crummy barracks. In one barracks there were only 12 showers for 700 men. To cap it, the food was miserable.

The "chicken" under Lee was notorious. Saluting seemed to be the whole point of the army. Violations of "military courtesy" were severely punished. At Pisa an army prison, camouflaged under the title of "Disciplinary Training Camp," went in for such specialties as the sweatbox torture.

Ruark had claimed that General Eisenhower would take action as soon as he heard of conditions in Lee's command. But Eisenhower wasn't ignorant of what was taking place there. No one who had been in Europe was. Eisenhower, who has had the cleverest public relations advisors in the army, appointed another General, named Wyche, to investigate the charges against Lee.

Wyche's report was a foregone conclusion. Anyone who had followed the course of army "justice" in the Litchfield Trials knew what the result would be. Lee got a few verbal slaps on the wrist and then the accusations were dismissed as unfounded.

Now that the show is over, General Lee has returned to the U. S. to receive all the honors "due" one of his rank. He receives a Lieutenant-General's pay and when he retires will receive that rank's pension. But his career has not ended. He has announced that he will spend the rest of his life working for religion. This announcement will probably make atheists of thousands of ex-GI's who served under him.

Notes from the News

BOOK ON WALLACE — Dwight Macdonald's two articles in **Politics** on Henry Wallace have been expanded and will be published as a book by Vanguard Press next spring.

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TERRIBLE CRIME — Memphis authorities have banned the Hal Roach movie, **Curley**, because it shows white and Negro kids playing together.

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DIED IN ACTION—AFL Counsel Joseph Padway died of a stroke suffered while denouncing the Taft-Hartley Act at the AFL convention last week. His last big court case was for the UMW against the government injunction last winter.

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PROGRESSIVE FOLDS—The Progressive, liberal weekly founded by the LaFollettes, has been discontinued because of soaring publishing costs. If enough money is raised it may reappear as a magazine.

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SURPRISE!—Against the current trend, the Alabama Legislature has adjourned **WITHOUT** passing a number of anti-labor bills on the docket.

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HOSIERY WORKERS—Suspended for refusing to pay an increase in per capita dues to the parent CIO Textile Workers Union, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers will apply directly to the CIO for affiliation.

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"SOCIALIST MAYOR"—Irving C. Freese and the whole Socialist ticket swept the Norwalk, Conn., elections last week on an "honest government" platform. They have no connection with the Socialist Party of the U. S.

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STEP FORWARD — Tenant's organizations have won the right to examine records filed by landlords asking rent increases, rent control authorities in Washington revealed.

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STILL VINDICTIVE — Governor Bradford has rejected a bas-relief of Sacco and Vanzetti offered to the State of Massachusetts by a committee of liberals. Capitalists still hate these two workers 20 years after murdering them for their radical views.

Philadelphia SWP Fights Against Corrupt Boss Political Machines

PHILADELPHIA—The real issues in this city's election campaign have been brought out into the open by the Socialist Workers Party's drive to elect Irene LeCompte to the City Council from the 7th District.

These issues are generally buried under the mud-slinging and name-calling engaged in by the two dominant parties of Big Business, the Republicans and Democrats. Philadelphia is an outstanding example of the kind of elections that make honest men and women hold their noses at the mention of the word politics.

At a time when the working people are concerned with rising prices and rents, evictions, racial discrimination and all the other hardships of life in Republican Philadelphia, the two boss parties continue their same dirty political game.

NO REAL DIFFERENCES

Republicans and Democrats are two sides of the same coin. They are Wall Street's parties. When one is in office, the other shouts "Thief." The truth is, they are both thieves. No real differences divide them. When the chips are down, when it's a question of workers' welfare or boss's profits—they are with the bosess. Despite their superficial differences, they are united in the effort to protect the capitalist monopoly over finance, industry—and politics.

This was plainly demonstrated by their joint moves to prevent any independent working class candidate from running for public office. Every worker in Philadelphia should learn the facts about their conspiracy to bar independent candidates from the ballot, and the reasons behind that conspiracy.

The SWP candidate, from the 7th District, Irene LeCompte, was ruled off the ballot by the Republican-Democratic coalition on the County Election Board. As a warning against other independents who might dare to challenge the two-party monopoly, Mrs. LeCompte and her campaign manager were cited for "contempt." The contempt charges were obligingly upheld by Judge Harry McDevitt.

DIFFICULTIES FACING SWP

The Socialist Workers Party entered this campaign fully aware of the difficulties facing it but determined to fight for both its own rights and the rights of labor and other minority groups in coming elections. Although the Pennsylvania election code was framed to make it as difficult as possible for independents to run for office, the SWP carefully conformed to the code.

Only a 30 day period is allowed for the collection of signatures on nomination papers. However, the SWP secured 2,178—more than twice the number required—in eight days.

The Election Board, unable to find sufficient fault with the signatures, finally seized on the point that all the papers were certified by one person. (Nothing is mentioned in the election law on this point.) There was no question that the signatures were honestly secured. Judge McDevitt upheld the Election Board decision disqualifying the SWP.

Virtually every other attempt to get independent candidates on the ballot in Pennsylvania was likewise defeated—the Communist Party, the Workers Party, an independent veterans ticket, even the Prohibition Party, were all barred.

Why? What is the reason that makes the political servants of Big Business so afraid to face other candidates on the ballot? If you understand the answer to this question, you will also understand the real issue in the current campaign.

FEAR LABOR PARTY

This is the reason: The capitalist politicians sense the working people's growing disgust with the Republican - Democratic "help-the-rich" policies. They see labor's growing determination to take an active part in the nation's politics. They fear the development of a Labor Party which would kick out the political stooges of Big Business and replace them with labor's own representatives. They want to prevent this development at all costs.

And this is the issue: Who is going to govern the city of Philadelphia—corrupt capitalist politicians or the democratically chosen spokesmen for the workers and minority groups who represent the great majority of the population?

The final answer to that question will not be given in the 1947 election, but it can be given in 1948, if the working people begin their preparations now to challenge the political monopoly of Big Business. A partial answer can be given now—if the workers draw the lessons of the 1947 campaign, break once and for all with the Democratic and Republican Parties and begin to build their own party.

The Committee for Defense of the Rights of Independent Labor Candidates has been established to carry on the struggle, and David H. H. Felix, a distinguished liberal attorney, has been retained by the Committee. An appeal to the higher state courts is contemplated on the elimination of the SWP from the ballot and the criminal contempt sentences on its candidate and campaign manager, who face imprisonment or fines for daring to run for public office.

If you believe in the right of all working class groups to seek public office, you should join the Committee. If you live in the 7th District and want to strike a blow against the anti-labor policies of both capitalist parties, write in the name of Irene LeCompte for City Council on election day.

Irene LeCompte—A Lifelong Fighter For Labor's Rights

Irene LeCompte, SWP candidate for Philadelphia City Council from the 7th District, is a working class housewife. She is a life-long resident of the city and comes from a working class family of "Brewerytown." Through her experience as a housewife, she knows what it is to try to maintain a household under conditions of rising prices.

Since her high school days, Mrs. LeCompte has been an active participant in the struggles of the Philadelphia labor movement and a staunch defender of the civil rights of the Negro people and other minorities.

How to Vote for Irene LeCompte In 7th District

The first printed line on the voting machine lists the offices being voted for. Look across this line until you find the words CITY COUNCIL. Above these words is a long slot. Write the name of IRENE LECOMPTE in this slot.

Remember to bring a pencil with you when you go to the polls.

Discussing Hickman Case

Willoughby Abner, chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee and 1st vice president of the Chicago CIO Council (left), is shown discussing the Hickman case with Harold Russell, Academy Award actor of The Best Years of Our Lives. Russell joined the Defense Committee and issued a strong statement on behalf of James Hickman.

Liberal Labor Figures Come to Aid of Hickman

CHICAGO, Oct. 5—Last Sunday's mass meeting at the Metropolitan Community Church not only demanded the release of James Hickman, but also called for more rigid enforcement of the fire ordinances and a large scale, low-rental, non-discriminatory housing program. The meeting was sponsored by the Hickman Defense Committee to win freedom for James Hickman, who is now in County Jail awaiting trial on Oct. 27 for the murder of his landlord. Hickman's four youngest children were burned to death last January in a fire which Hickman charges was deliberately set by his landlord.

Principal speakers at the rally were Tallulah Bankhead, stage and screen star; Willard Motley, author of the best-selling novel, Knock on Any Door; International Vice-President Philip Weightman of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers; and Richard Rober, stage star.

Willoughby Abner, chairman of the Hickman Defense Committee, officiated at the rally. Other speakers included Henry McGee, chairman of the Chicago NAACP; Sid Lens, director of AFL Building Service Local 329; Rev. Joseph Evans of the Metropolitan Community Church; Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council; H. Will of the AVC National Planning Board, and M. J. Myer, attorney for Hickman.

In a stirring speech Tallulah Bankhead said: "It seems to me a shameful condemnation of our society that 2000 years after Christ, people are still herded together into black ghettoes merely because their skins have different pigmentations than other people.

"No one condones murder or any act of violence," she continued. "I hope the day shall come soon when humanity can resolve not only its racial problems but all problems, coolly and rationally; when emotional acts of violence—be they individual or national—can be eliminated forever.

"So long, however, as there exists anywhere on earth one minority that is treated with contempt, that is herded into black slum areas, that is abused and insulted, so long will we have violence, hate, brutality, savagery. So long as there exists a Jewish problem, a Negro problem or a Mexican problem — or a problem of any minority — so long will one form of violence beget other.

"I am proud to be one of the humble gladiators in this struggle against narrow prejudice and stupidity. I am glad to lend my efforts so that there shall be no more James Hickman tragedies. I hope each and every one of you joins with me and this committee in this wholly justified crusade."

Willard Motley related his interview with Hickman in jail and gave a dramatic account of the events leading up to the tragedy. He lashed out at restrictive covenants and the shameful housing conditions in this and other cities and called for a vigorous effort to free Hickman.

Three resolutions were moved and unanimously adopted. The first demanded Hickman's release. The second called on Congress and the State Legislature to "institute immediately a large scale low rental" non-discriminatory housing program. The third, pointing to the laxity in enforcing fire ordinances which results in many deaths, demanded that the City Council pass legislation providing jail sentences for landlords violating these ordinances. The committee was instructed to confer with Mayor Kennelly on this problem.

The Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 South Parkway, was established shortly after Hickman was arrested for shooting his landlord. It has rallied wide support from labor, veterans, Negro and civil organizations.

Trainor Speaks Over the Radio

BOSTON, Oct. 7—The announcement that three 15-minute radio broadcasts have been hired by the Socialist Workers Committee in its campaign to elect Lawrence P. Trainor to the Boston School Committee featured a successful rally and social affair here last Saturday night.

The broadcasts will be heard on station WHDH at 8:45 P. M. on three successive Monday nights, Oct. 13, 20, and 27.

In a brief talk to the friends of **The Militant** attending the rally, Trainor said the main demand of his campaign is that the schools teach the truth about the causes of wars and depressions. "We must not permit our youth to be duped with lies, taught nationalistic hatred, and then marched off to another war," he said.

Secondly, Trainor declared, he would demand the introduction of textbooks that teach the scientific facts about the equality of all racial and cultural groups.

To advertise the radio program plans are being made for the distribution of 20,000 folders in the Roxbury and Dorchester districts of Boston. Readers of **The Militant** are urged to listen to Trainor's talks with their friends. Contributions to finance the campaign should be mailed to the Socialist Workers Committee, 30 Stuart St., Boston 16.

Sunday Forum Season Opened in Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 5 — The tenth year of regular weekly Twin City Sunday Forums began today in Minneapolis party headquarters with a talk by Grace Carlson, state organizer of the SWP, on "Wall Street's Drive against Labor."

Comrade Carlson explained in detail the program of the Socialist Workers Party to the 40 workers present. "We of the SWP stand for the working class of this country," she declared. "We don't pretend to represent all classes. We are for the working class and that is why we call our forum the Workers' Town Meeting."

Chairman of the meeting, V. R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the SWP, outlined the forum procedure to the audience, explaining that this year marks the initiation of a St. Paul Sunday Forum in addition to those held in Minneapolis. For the 1947-48 season, he stated the first Sunday Forum of every month will be held in St. Paul SWP headquarters at 540 Cedar St., in that city, and the remaining forum of the month will be held as before in Minneapolis headquarters at 10 South Fourth St.

Suppers will be served this year as usual, after the forums. Featuring the "news behind the headlines," these meetings will be regular weekly affairs as they have been for the past nine years. All **Militant** readers are urged to attend and to remember—the first Sunday Forum of every month will be held in St. Paul headquarters; the remaining three in Minneapolis.

Philadelphia Election Program Of Socialist Workers Party

HOUSING: A better Philadelphia for Philadelphia working people—not for the real estate sharks, the bankers, and the monopoly profiteers. For a **city rent control law administered by workers, veterans and tenants committees.** No rent increases! No evictions! Restore rent ceilings. **Immediate construction of 100,000 dwellings at rentals workers and other low income groups can afford.** Against the unfair tax assessments. Raise the assessments on corporation and office buildings and the mansions of the rich. **Tax exemptions for worker-owned homes under $10,000 value.**

WAGES, PRICES, AND TAXES: Abolish the wage tax! **Tax the rich—not the poor.** A city income tax on business profits. Declare war on price-gouging profiteers. **Meet soaring prices and protect real wages by including in all contracts a cost-of-living bonus clause, to be paid on a regular and adjustable basis, automatically rising in direct proportion to any increases in living costs.** Crack down on the food trust by establishing city sponsored co-operative stores managed by committees of workers and housewives.

DEFENSE OF LABOR'S RIGHTS: Propose an amendment to the city charter providing for Referendum and Recall of all elected officials. **For the rights of all workers' candidates and minorities to the ballot.** Stop use of police to protect strikebreakers and to enforce anti-labor injunctions.

DISCRIMINATION: For a city FEPC and civil rights ordinances to enforce full social, economic, and political equality for Negroes and all other minorities. All discrimination practices to be checked and stamped out by neighborhood equal rights committees.

PUBLIC SERVICES: Complete city ownership of the transportation system. **Return the five-cent fare to Philadelphia!** City operation of the PTC system and all other utilities under the management of elected workers' committees.

HEALTH AND SANITATION: Clear away the main cause of the city health problems — the rat-infested, disease-spreading, over-crowded fire-trap slums. **Construct modern housing projects on the slum cleared sites with preference to former slum residents in the new houses.** Immediate construction of ten new general hospitals and one hundred neighborhood clinics to meet Philadelphia's minimum medical needs.

EDUCATION: Fifty new school buildings with modern educational equipment, as a start to ending the deplorable overcrowding of classrooms. Overhaul the antiquated public school system which promotes our children without educating them. Adequate pay for school teachers. **A free City College** (Philadelphia is the only large city without one). Free hot lunches for all school children.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE: Provide parks and recreation centers in all sections of the city. Eliminate expenditures in Fairmount Park for "Boathouse Row," for the pleasures of the rich—use funds to provide recreational facilities for the poor. **Free nurseries for children of working mothers, on a permanent basis, with a paid and competent staff.**

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION: Labor must run its own candidates for office. **A labor slate in '48!** Build an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions locally and nationally.

Vote for Irene LeCompte in 7th District